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GEOGRAPHICAL ESSAYS

VOL. I.

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By

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PREFACE

I have collected here all my articles published in various journals of the East and the West relating to ancient geography of India, Burma and Ceylon, thoroughly revised and enlarged. I believe they will be found useful by those for whom they are intended.

Calcutta,
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Bimala Churn Law

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CHAPTER I

Geographical Data from Sanskrit Buddhist Literature

Introduction

I. *Scope of the subject—*

The title of the paper is perhaps sufficiently explanatory to give the readers an idea of the subject with which it deals. In my book—Geography of Early Buddhism—recently published, [1] I have attempted to present a geographical picture of ancient India as can be drawn from Pāli texts. Here, however, my attempt has been to follow up the same subject of investigation drawing materials from Sanskrit Buddhist texts. It is thus practically a supplement to my work just referred to.

Texts or narratives of a purely historical or geographical nature are very rare in the literature of the northern and southern Buddhists and whatever geographical information can be gathered are mainly incidental. The items, therefore, that go to build up the ancient geography of India are naturally scattered amid a mass of other subjects, and can hardly present

[1] Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 88 Great Russell Street, London, W. C. 1. 1932. Price Rs. 2. 90 pp. with a map.

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a general view. These items of geographical and topographical information require, therefore, to be very carefully examined and assembled together from a variety of sources—literary, epigraphic, monumental and traditional—before we can present a complete geographical picture of Buddhist India.

II. *Sources : their nature and value*—Of literary sources for a systematic exposition of geography of Buddhism, Pāli literature, is undoubtedly the most important, for 'the localities mentioned in the Pāli writings (even in the Jātakas) belong for the most part to the real world ; the cities of fiction, so abundant in Sanskrit literature appear but little, if at all.'[1] From a time when Indian history emerges from confusion and uncertainties of semi-historical legends and traditions to a more definite historical plane, that is from about the time of the Buddha to about the time of Asoka the Great, the literature of the early Buddhists is certainly the main, if not the only, source of the historical and geographical information of ancient India, supplemented, however, by Jain and Brahmanical sources here and there. Even for later periods when epigraphical and archæological sources are abundant, and literary sources are mainly Brahmanical or are derived from foreign treatises such as those of Greek geographers and Chinese travellers, the importance of geographical information as supplied by Pāli texts is considerable. But it cannot be said in the same manner of the Sanskrit Buddhist texts as they are later in date and therefore their value is less

[1] Prof. F. W. Thomas in his Foreword to my "Geography of Early Buddhism".

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than that of the Pāli texts, most of which are much earlier in date. Moreover, the information contained in the Pāli texts of countries and places, cities and villages, rivers and lakes, hills and mountains, parks and forests, are more exhaustive and elaborate than that available from the Sanskrit Buddhist texts which are later in date. The limited chips of information available from the Sanskrit Buddhist texts are almost irritating in their repetitions, as, for example, in the Mahāvastu, or As'okāvadāna, or Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā, or Lalitavistara, or Avadānasataka. Cities of fiction which are no part of the real world are abundant in the Sanskrit Buddhist texts. Countries like Ratnadvīpa and Khaṇḍidīpa (Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā), cities like Vandhumatī and Puṇyavatī, and mountains like Tris'aṅku and Dhūmanetra are often mentioned. They admit hardly of any identification, and help only to add to the legendary element prevading most of the accounts of these Sanskrit Buddhist texts. These Sanskrit Buddhist texts, otherwise very important from religious and philosophical points of view, contain hardly any contemporary evidence of a historical or geographical character. Geographically or historically they speak of remote times ; and these remote times are but the years and centuries of early Buddhism which is almost practically covered by the Pāli texts. The Mahāvastu-avadāna, an important Sanskrit Buddhist text, speaks mostly of the life of the Buddha in his former and present existences ; the Lalitavistara and the Buddha-carita Kāvya also refer to the life of the Buddha. The Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā gives a number of stories relating to former existences of the Buddha, while the As'okāvadāna speaks of Aso'ka and his times. They

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may differ here a little and there a bit more, but geographically and historically speaking they hardly do so on any essential point. It seems that very few Sanskrit Buddhist texts are important from our standpoint but they have a great corroborative value, and should have thus their share of importance. It is very often that they bear out the evidences of the earlier Pāli texts and help to solve the riddles and clear the obscure points presented by them. In several cases, though they are not many, they introduce us to new and independent chips of information, useful and interesting from a geographical point of view.

The Sanskrit Buddhist books were in fact mostly written from the 6th century onwards to the 12th and 13th centuries of the Christian era. They contain the most important contemporary evidence so far as the religious history is concerned but geographically they speak of very remote times. This is somewhat amusing. For already by the sixth and seventh centuries of the Christian era, the whole of the Indian continent with its major divisions, and sub-divisions, its countries, provinces, cities, rivers, mountains, etc., had become too widely known to its people. Contemporary epigraphic, literary and monumental evidences abound with information regarding many geographical details. More than that, Indians of those centuries had also planted their political, cultural and commercial outposts and colonies not only in Suvarṇabhūmi (Lower Burma) but also in Java and Sumatra, Champa and Kamboj. Their priests and missionaries had already travelled to China and Central Asia, carrying with them, the Sanskrit Buddhist texts which we are speaking of. But it is difficult to find in them any idea of this far wider geographical

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knowledge and outlook of the times. Even the Indian continent is not fully represented in its contemporary geographical information.

III. *Divisions of India*—Sanskrit Buddhist texts give us no glimpse as to the size and shape of the country. For the conception of the shape of India we have, however, to turn to the Mahāgovinda Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya, a Pāli text and to the itinerary of Yuan Chwang, the celebrated Chinese traveller.[1] Nor have we any such conception of the world and the place India occupies in the system in the same way as we have in the Brahmanical conception contained in the Purāṇas and the Epics. According to the Brahmanical conception the world is said to have consisted of seven concentric islands—Jambu, Sāka, Kusa, Sāmala, Krauñca, Gomeda and Puskara—encircled by seven samudras, the order, however, varying in different sources. Of these islands, the Jambudvīpa is the most alluded to in various sources and is the one which is generally identified with Bhāratavarṣa, the Indian Peninsula.

The Buddhist system also includes Jambudvīpa as one of the islands (i.e., continents) that comprise the world. It has a detailed description in the Visuddhimagga (Visuddhimagga, I. pp. 205-206 ; cf. Vinaya Texts, S. B. E., Vol. XVII, pp. 38-39 and Atthasālinī p. 298) and is mentioned again and again in various other Pāli texts. When opposed to Sīhaladīpa, Jambudvīpa means, as Childers points out (Pāli Dictionary, p. 165), the continent of India, but it is difficult to be definite on this point. We have references to Jambudvīpa in Sanskrit Buddhist texts as well, as for

[1] Geography of Early Buddhism, Intro. p. xix.

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example in the Mahāvastu (III. p. 67), the Lalitavistara (Ch. XII) and the Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā (78th Pallava, 9). According to the Mahāvastu Indian merchants made sea voyages for trade from the Jambudvīpa.[1] They were once shipwrecked ; but living on vegetables they succeeded in saving their lives and came to an island inhabited by female demons. The Lalitavistara states that the Jambudvīpa is distinguished from three other dvīpas—the Uttarakuru dvīpa, the Aparagodāniya dvīpa and the Pūrvavideha dvīpa (p. 19). Uttarakuru is mentioned as early as Vedic times and is probably a semi-mythical country beyond the Himālayas, Aparagodāniya is difficult to be identified, but Pūrvavideha must certainly be identified with a portion of the Videha country the chief city of which was Mithilā. If that be so, it is difficult to understand why Pūrva Videha is distinguished from the Jambudvīpa which is supposed to be identical with the Indian continent. The Latitavistara (p. 149) further states that the Jambudvīpa was only 7,000 thousand yojanas in extent, while the Godāniya, the Pūrva-Videha, and the Uttarakuru dvīpas were 8000, 9000 and 10,000 thousand yojanas in extent respectively. The Jambudvīpa was thus the smallest in extent, but according to Buddhaghosa, the Jambudvīpa was 10,000 yojanas in extent, and it was called mahā or great (Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, II, p. 429). The evidences are, therefore, conflicting and do not help us in identifying the division with any amount of certainty.

Indian literature, whether Buddhist or Brahmanical, divides India into five traditional divisions. But

[1] Law, A Study of the Mahāvastu, p. 128.

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the five divisions are not definitely and explicitly stated anywhere in Pāli or Sanskrit texts. A detailed description of the Majjhimades'a or the Middle country is as old as the Vinaya Pitaka as well as the references to the Majjhimades'a in the Pāli texts: but an accurate description of the four other divisions of India is not found except in Yuan Chwang's itineraries. The remaining four divisions, e.g., the Uttarāpatha, the Dakṣiṇāpatha, the Aparānta or the Western country and the Prācya or Eastern country are more suggested by the description of the boundaries of the Middle country than by any independent statement. The reason of the emphasis on the Madhyades'a is very clear. As with the Brahmanical Aryans so with the Buddhists, Middle country was the centre of their activities and much attention was paid by them to this tract of land in particular.

Sanskrit Buddhist texts refer at least to three divisions of India, e.g., the Madhyadesa, the land *par excellence* of Buddhism, the Uttarāpatha and the Dakṣiṇāpatha. The latter two are mentioned in name only, there is no defining of their boundaries nor is there any description of the countries or regions that constitute the divisions. Two other divisions, namely the Aparānta or the western and the Prācya or the eastern are not referred to even in name, but are suggested by the boundary of the Madhyades'a which is given in some detail in the Divyāvadāna (pp. 21-22) :

> "Pūrveṇopāli Puṇḍavardhaṇaṁ nāma
> nagaraṁ tasya pūrveṇa Puṇḍakakṣo nāma
> parvataḥ, tataḥ pareṇa pratyantaḥ |
> dakṣiṇena Sarāvatī nāma nagarī
> tasyāḥ pareṇa Sarāvatī nāma nadī
> so 'ntaḥ, tataḥ pareṇa pratyantaḥ |

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pas'cimena Sthūṇopasthūṇakau brāhmaṇagrāmakau . so 'ntah, tataḥ pareṇa pratyantaḥ ।

uttareṇa Usīragiriḥ so 'ntah, tataḥ pareṇa pratyantaḥ ।

The boundaries of the Madhyades'a defined here may be described as having extended in the east to the city of Puṇḍravardhana[1], to the east of which was the Puṇḍakāksa mountain, in the south of the city Sarāvatī (Salalavatī of the Mahāvagga) on the river of the same name, in the west to the twin Brāhmaṇa villages of Sthūṇā[2] and Upasthūṇa and in the north to the Usīragiri mountain[3] (Usīradhaja of the Mahāvagga). According to the Saundarananda Kāvya (Ch. II. v. 62), however, the Madhyades'a is said to have been situated between the Himālayas and the Pāripātra (Pāriyātra) mountain, a branch of the Vindhyas. The description of the boundary of the Madhyades'a, as given in the Divyāvadāna, is almost the same as that of the Mahāvagga.[4] Majjhimadesa of the Pāli text may be described as having extended in the east to the town of Kajaṅgala, in the south-east to the river Salalāvatī, in the south to the town of Satakaṇṇika, in the west to the Brāhmaṇa district of Thūṇa and in the north to the Usīradhāja mountain. The Divyāvadāna differs only in the fact that it extends the eastern boundary of

[1] Puṇḍravardhana in ancient times included Varendra ; roughly identical with North Bengal.

[2] Sthūṇa is identified by some with Thaneswar (Thūna of the Mahāvagga) CAGI. Intro. p. xliii. f. n. 2.

[3] Usiragiri is identical with a mountain of the same name, north of Kankhal (Hardwar) I. A., 1905., p. 179.

[4] Vinaya Texts, S. B. E., Vol. xvii pp. 38-39.

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the Majjhimadesa still farther to the east so as to include Puṇḍravardhana.

The Uttarāpatha or the northern division is referred to in name in the Divyāvadāna (p. 315) as well as in the Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā (16th p. 19 ; 103 p. 4). The Daksiṇāpatha extended southwards beyond the Sarāvatī river and the Pāripātra mountain and is mentioned in the Mahāvastu, the Asokāvadāna, the Gaṇḍavyūha and other texts. The Gaṇḍavyūha, however, gives a long list of place names which are all included in the Daksiṇāpathā.

MADHYADES'A

As in the Pāli texts, so in the Sanskrit Buddhist texts as well, Madhyadeśa is the country that is elaborately noticed. Its towns and cities, parks and gardens, lakes and rivers have been mentioned time and again. Its villages have not also been neglected. It seems, therefore, that the Middle country was excusively the world in which the early Buddhists confined themselves. It was in an eastern district of the Madhyadeśa that Gotama became the Buddha, and the drama of his whole life was staged on the plains of the Middle country. He travelled independently or with his disciples from city to city, and village to village moving as it were within a circumscribed area. The demand near home was so great and insistent that he had no occasion during his lifetime to stir outside the limits of the Middle country. And as early Buddhism is mainly concerned with his life and the propagation of his teaching, Buddhist literature that speaks of the times, therefore, abounds with geographi-

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cal information mainly of the Madhyadeśa within the limits of which the first converts to the religion confined themselves. The border countries and kingdoms were undoubtedly known and were often visited by Buddhist monks, but those of the distant south or north or north-west seem to have been known only by names handed down to them by traditions. But with the progress of time, Buddhism spread itself beyond the boundaries of the Middle country, and its priests and preachers were out for making new converts, their geographical knowledge naturally expanded itself, and by the time Asoka became emperor of almost the whole of India, it had come to embrace not only Gandhāra and Kamboja on one side, and Puṇḍra and Kaliṅga on the other, but also the other countries that later on came to be occupied by the Cheras, Cholas and Pāṇḍyas. The position of the early Buddhists as regards their geographical knowledge may thus be stated. They were primarily concerned with the Middle country, the centre of Buddha's activities, but even as early as the Buddha's time they knew the entire tract of country from Gandhāra and Kamboja to Vaṅga, Puṇḍra and Kaliṅga on one side and from Kāsmīra to Aśmaka, Vidarbha and Māhismatī on the other. The early Buddhists had not had much knowledge of these outlying tracts which are mentioned only when their incidental relations with the Madhyadeśa are related or recalled.

Boundary—Of Sanskrit Buddhist texts, it is only in the Divyāvadāna that there is any detailed reference to the boundaries of the Madhyadeśa. It may be described as having extended in the east as far as the city of Puṇḍravardhana, in the south to the city of Sarāvatī on the river of the same name, in the west to

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the twin brahmin villages of Sthūṇa and Upasthūṇa, and in the north to the Uśīragiri mountain. According to the Saundarānanda Kāvya (Chap. II. V. 62), however, the Madhyadeśa is said to have been situated between the Himālayas and the Pāripātra (=Pāriyātra) mountain, a branch of the Vindhyas.[1] The description of the boundary of the Madhyades'a as given in the Divyāvadāna is almost the same as given in the Pāli Vinaya text, the Mahāvagga. (Vinaya texts, S. B. E., Vol. XVII, pp. 38-39). It differs only in the fact that the Sanskrit text extends the eastern boundary of the Middle country a bit farther to the east—the Mahāvagga having a eastern boundary as extending up to the town of Kajaṅgala only—so as to include Puṇḍravardhana. It is, therefore, obvious that the Buddhist holy land had by the time the Divyāvadāna came to be witten extended up to Puṇḍravardhana.

The Mahāvastu records a very interesting fact with regard to the religious creed of the Madhyadeśikas or inhabitants of the Madhyadeśa. They are all qualified as "Lokottaravādins" (Lokottaravādināṁ Madhyadesikānāṁ, Vol. I. p. 2), i.e., following a particular creed of Mahāyāna Buddhism known as Lokottaravāda. This seems, however, to be a coloured statement.

The sixteen Mahājanapadas and other important cities and countries of Madhyadesa' : Of the well-known

[1] This description of the boundary of the Madhyades'a agrees favourably with that stated of the particular division in the Brahmanical Dharma-sūtras and Dharma-s'āstras, e. g., in the Codes of Manu. (Cf. Geography of Early Buddhism, Intro. p. xx.)

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list of the sixteen Mahājanapadas or big states[1] enumerated in the Pāli texts (Aṅguttara Nikāya, Vol. I. p. 213 ; IV. pp. 252, 256, 260) the Mahāvastu has in a certain place the traditional record (Vol. II. p. 2, "Jambudvīpe soḍaśahi Mahājanapadehi") but there is no enumeration of the list. A similar reference, but without the traditional list, is also made in the Lalitavistara (sarvasmin Jambudvīpe soḍasa Jānapadeṣu, p. 22). The Mahāvastu, however, in a different connection seems to enumerate a list of sixteen states or Mahājanapadas. There we read that Gautama once repaired to the Grdhrakūṭa hills at Rājagrha and was honoured by both gods and men. He distributed knowledge among the people of Aṅga, Magadha, Vajji, Malla, Kāśī, Kośala, Cedi, Vatsa, Matsya, Sūrasena, Kuru, Pañcāla, Śivi, Dasārna, Assaka and Avantī (Vol. I. p. 34). This list, however, differs from that given in the Pāli texts inasmuch as it excludes the Mahājanapadas of Gandhāra and Kamboja but includes Śivi and Dasārna instead. The order of the enumeration is also somewhat different.

Aṅga—Aṅga is very sparingly referred to in the Sanskrit Buddhist text. The Mahāvastu (Vol. I, p. 120) however, refers to a legend of King Rrahmadatta, king of Benares, who had once been born as Ṛsabha, a bull, in the kingdom of Aṅga. Its capital was evidently Campāpurī mentioned in the Asokā-

[1] They are :—(1) and (2) Kāsi-Kosala, (3) and (4) Anga-Magadha, (5) and (6) Vajji-Malla, (7) and (8) Cedi-Vaṁsa, (9) and (10) Kuru-Pancāla, (11) and (12) Maccha-Sūrasena, (13) and (14) Assaka-Avanti, (15) and (16) Gandhāra-Kamboja. See Geography of Early Buddhism, pp. 2-23.

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vadāna (R. L. Mitra, Nepalese Buddhist leterature, later on referred to as N.B.L, p. 8) wherein it is stated that when Bindusāra was reigning at Pātaliputra, a Brahman of Campāpurī presented to him a daughter named Subhadrāṅgī. Aṅga, as is well-known, is identical with modern Bhagalpur. The Lalitavistara refers to a script or alphabet of the Aṅga country which the Bodhisattva is said to have mastered (pp. 125-26).

Magadha—Like Aṅga, Magadha is also very sparingly referred to in Sanskrit Buddhist texts. There are some references to the kingdom of Magadha in the Mahāvastu (Vol. I. 34, 289 ; II. 419 ; III. 47, 90, etc.), the Avadāna Śataka (Ibid. pp. 24-25) and in other minor texts, but they have hardly any geographical import. The Buddha had, however, innumerable travels in Magadha in course of which he crossed the Ganges several times (Ibid). Ārya Avalokitesvara is also said to have once passed through Magadha (Ibid, Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha, p. 95). The Saptakumārika Avadāna (Ibid, p. 222) refers to a large tank named Citragarbha in Magadha. According to the Divyāvadāna (p. 425) Magadha is described as a beautiful city with all kinds of gems. In the Lalitavistara (p. 20) the Vaidehīkula of Magadha is referred to. The Vaidehīkula was suggested by one of the Devaputras as a royal family in which the Bodhisattva might be born in his future existence. But he preferred to be born of the Sākya race of Kapilavastu. According to the Lalitavistara the Magadha country seems to have had a separate alphabet which the Bodhisattva is credited to have mastered (pp. 125-26). The people of Magadha, i.e., the Māgadhikas or Māgadhakas are referred to more than once in the Lalitavistara (pp. 318 and 398).

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But its capital Pāṭaliputra is more often mentioned. At the time of the Buddha it was a great city (Divyāvadāna, p. 544). The same authority informs us that a bridge of boats was built between Mathurā and Pāṭaliputra. Thera Upagupta went to the Magadhan capital by boat accompanied by 18,000 arhats in order to receive favour from King Asoka. The Thera was however, very cordially received by the king (pp. 386-87). There at the Kukkutārāma vihāra where King Asoka had erected eighty-four thousand stūpas and caityas (Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā : 69th p. 6-7) Thera Upagupta divulged the most mysterious secrets of Buddhism to Asoka (N. B. L. : Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha p. 95). At the time of Susīma, son of Vindusāra, a beautiful daughter of a brahman of Campā was brought to Pāṭaliputra and presented to the wife of King Bimbisāra. This girl showed the light of intelligence to the inmates of the harem. She remained as a playmate and companion of the chief queen who later on gave birth to a son who became known as Vigataśoka (Div. 369-70, Aśokāvadāna, N. B. L. p. 8). The Aśokāvadāna refers to Pāṭaliputra as having once been attacked by Susīma when his younger brother Asoka was reigning, but Susīma was overpowered (N.B.L. p. 9). The Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā (31, p. 3, 73, p. 2) refers to Pāṭalīputra as having once been ruled by a virtuous King Purandara. The Mahāvastu (III, p. 231) refers to a capital city named Puṣpāvatī (Puṣpāvatī nāma rājadhānī) which is probably identical with Pāṭaliputra.

Rājagṛha—According to the Lalitavistara, Rājagṛha is said to have been included in Magadha ("Magadheṣu Rājagṛha"—p. 246). It is referred to in the same text as a city of the Māgadhakas (p. 239). It is

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described as Magadhapura or the capital city of Magadha (Ibid. p. 243) and was a Mahānagara or a great city where once Mātāṅga, a Pratyeka-Buddha was wandering. The ancient name of the city was Girivraja. The city was adorned with beautiful palaces, well-guarded, decorated with mountains, supported and hallowed by sacred places and distinguished by the five hills (Buddhacarita Kāvya, Book X, verse 2). It was much frequented by the Buddha. In the Divyāvadāna (p. 545), Rājagrha is described as a rich, prosperous and populous city at the time of Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru. The same text informs us that in order to go from Śrāvastī to Rājagrha one had to cross the Ganges by boats kept either by King Ajātasatru of Magadha or by the Licchavis of Vaisālī. It is obvious, therefore, that the Ganges formed the boundary between the kingdom of Magadha and republican territory of the Licchavis, and that both the Magadhans and the Licchavis had equal rights over the river. The route from Rājagrha to Śrāvastī was infested with thieves who used to rob the merchants of their merchandise (pp. 94-95). It is interesting to note that Rājagrha was an important centre of inland trade where merchants flocked from different quarters (Div. p. 307) to buy and sell their merchandise. At Rājagrha there used to be held a festival known as Giriagrasamāja when thousands of people assembled in hundreds of gardens. Songs were sung, musical instruments were played and theatrical performances were held with great pomp (Mahāvastu, Vol. III, p. 57).

In and around the city of Rājagrha there was a number of important localities hallowed by the history of their associations with the Buddha and Buddhism. They were the Veṇuvana on the side of the Kalanda-

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kanivāpa, the Nāradagrāma, the Kukkuṭārāmavihāra, the Grdhrakūṭa hill, the Yaṣṭivana, the Uruvilvagrāma, the Prabhāsavana on the Grdhrakūta hill, the Kolitagrāma, etc. The Veṇuvana is repeatedly mentioned (e.g. in the Avadānasatakam and elsewhere) as it was a very favourite haunt of the Buddha. The Bhadrakalpāvadāna (N. B. L., p. 45) refers to the Nāradagrāma while the Mahā-sahasra-Pramardinī refers (N.B.L., p. 166) to the Prabhāsavana on the Grdhrakūṭa hill. The Grdhrakūṭa hill is also repeatedly mentioned, and the Buddha used to dwell here most often when he happened to visit Rājagrha.[1] The scene of most of the later Sanskrit Buddhist texts is also laid on the Grdhrakūṭa hill (e.g. of the Prajñāpāramitā Aṣṭasāhasrikā, the Saddharmapuṇḍarika, etc.). The village of Kolita was very largely populated, and was situated at a distance of half a yojana from Rājagrha. The Kalandaka or Karaṇḍakanivāpa (tank) was situated near the Veṇuvana at Rājagrha (N. B. L., Avadāna-satakam p. 17, p. 23, Divyāvadāna, pp. 143, 554). It seems that there were two vihāras named Kukkuṭārāma, one at Pāṭalīputra (N. B. L. Asokāvadāna pp. 9-10 ; Kalpadrumāvadāna, p. 293), and another at or near Rājagrha (N. B. L., Dvāviṁsāvadāna, p. 85). The Mahāvastu (Vol. III. p. 441)

Prabhāsavana Grdhrakūta hill

Kolitagrama

Kalandakanivāpa

Kukkutarama vihara

[1] N. B. L.—Kavikumārakathā, p. 102 ; Mahāvastu (Senart's Ed). Vol. I, pp. 84 & 54, Sukāvatī-Vyūha, N. B. L., p. 236, Suvarṇaprabhāsa N. B. L. p. 241, Divyāvadāna, p. 814, etc.

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has a reference to the famous Yaṣṭivana which was once visited by the Buddha accompanied by a large number of bhikkhus. The same text (Vol. I, p. 70) refers to the Saptaparṇa cave in Rājagṛha ("Puravare bhavatu Rājagṛhesmin Saptaparṇa abhidhānaguhāyāṁ").

Yaṣṭivana

Saptaparṇa cave

Vajji—The tribe of the Vajjis or Vṛjis included, according to Cunningham and Prof. Rhys Davids, aṭṭhakulas or eight confederate clans among whom the Videhans, the Vṛjikas,[1] and the Licchavis were the most important. Other confederate clans were probably Jñātṛkas, Ugras, Bhojas and Aikṣvākas. The Videha clan had its seat at Mithilā which is recorded in the Brāhmaṇas and the Purāṇas to have originally a monarchical constitution.

Vaisāli—The Vṛjikas are often associated with the city of Vaiśālī which was not only the capital of the Licchavi clan, but also the metropolis of the entire confederacy. Vaiśālī was a great city of the Madhyadeśa and is identical with modern Besarh in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar. The city which resembled the city of the gods was at the time of the Buddha, happy, proud, prosperous and rich with abundant food, charming and delightful, crowded with many and various people, adorned with buildings of various descriptions, storied mansions, buildings and palaces with towers, noble gateways, triumphal arches, covered courtyards, and charming with beds of flowers, in her numerous gardens and groves.

[1] According to the Divyāvadāna, the Vais'ālakas and the Licchavis were two different confederate clans (pp. 55-56 ; 136).

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And lastly, the Lalitavistara claims that the city rivalled the domain of the immortals in beauty (Lefmann, Ch. III. p. 21 ; Mahāvastu, Vol. I. pp. 253 ff). More than once did the Buddha visit this wonderful city at which he once looked with an elephant look (Div. p. 208). Once in the vicinity of this city, while dwelling in a lofty tower on the Markaṭa lake, the Lord went out on a begging excursion (N. B. L., Avadānaśataka, p. 18 ; Div. p. 208). By the side of the Markaṭa lake there was the Kūṭāgāra where the Buddha once took up his dwelling (Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā, 90th p. 73, N. B. L., Aśokāvadāna, p. 12). We are told in the Mahāvastu that a brahmin named Ālāra Kālāma who was an inhabitant of Vaiśālī once gave instructions to the Śramaṇas (Vol. II. p. 118). The Licchavis of Vaiśāli made a gift of many caityas (e. g., the Saptāmra caitya, the Bahuputra caitya, the Gotama caitya, the Kapinhya caitya, the Markaṭahradatīra caitya) to the Buddha and the Buddhist Church. Ambapālī, the famous courtesan of Vaiśālī, also made the gift of her extensive mango-grove to the Buddhist congregation (Law's Study of the Mahāvastu, p. 44). In the Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā it is said that the Vaiśālikaś or the inhabitants of Vaiśālī or Viśālā made a rule to the effect that daughters of individuals should be enjoyed by gaṇas, and should not, therefore, be married (20th. p. 38).

Markaṭa lake

Kūṭāgāra

The Videha clan had its seat at Mithilā[1] which is

[1] Mithilā is, however, identified by some scholars with the small town of Janakapura just within the Nepal border. Videha is identical with ancient Tirabhukti, that is, modern Tirhut.

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recorded in the Brāhmaṇas and Purāṇas to have originally a monarchical constitution.

Mithilā

In Sanskrit Buddhist texts (e. g., in the Lalitavistara, pp. 19, 125, 149 etc. as well as in other texts) mention is made of a dvīpa called Pūrvavideha-dvīpa along with three other dvīpas, namely, the Aparagodāniya, the Uttarakuru, and the Jambudvīpa. Dvīpa is obviously used here in the sense of a country, but it is difficult to ascertain which country is meant by Pūrvavideha-dvīpa. The Lalitavistara refers to the script or alphabet of the Pūrvavideha-dvīpa, which the Lord Buddha is said to have mastered in his boyhood (p. 126). The same text refers to the extent of the four respective dvīpas; the Pūrvavideha-dvīpa is credited to have been nine thousand yojanas in extent.

Pūrvavideha

Videha is often referred to as a Janapada whose capital was Mithilā ("Vaideha Janapade Mithilāyāṁ Rājadhānyāṁ": Mahāvastu, Vol. III., p. 172, also Cf. Divyāvadāna, "Videheṣu Janapadeṣu gatvā prabrajitaḥ," p. 424). In the Lalitavistara the Videha dynasty is described as wealthy, prosperous, amiable and generous (chap. III). The Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā refers to the city of Mithilā in Videha ruled by a king named Puṣpadeva having two pious sons, Candra and Sūrya (83, p. 9). The Bodhisattva, in one of his previous births as Maheśa, the renowned elephant of Benares, was invited by the people of Mithilā to cure them of an epidemic (Mahāvastu, Vol. I. pp. 286-288). In another of his former existences, the Lord was born as the munificent King Vijitāvī of Mithilā. He was banished from his kingdom and took his abode in a leaf-hut near the Himālayas

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(Mahāvastu, III, p. 41). Two miles from Mithilā, there was a village, named Javakacchaka ; where Mahausadha, a brahmin, had his residence (Ibid, Vol. II, p. 83).

Javakacchaka

The country of the Mallas is referred to in the Dvāviṁśāvadāna (N. B. L., p. 86). The same source refers to a village, Kuśi by name, in the country of the Mallas. The Mukuṭabandhana chitya of the Mallas, as well as the twin sāla trees of Kuśīnārā where the Lord lay in his parinirvānā are alluded to more than once in the Divyāvadānā (pp. 208, 209 : "parinirvāṇāya gamiṣyati Mallānāṁ upavartanaṁ yamakaśālavanaṁ"). Anomiya was an important city in the Malla kingdom. This city which was once visited by the Bodhisattva was situated near the hermitage of sage Vaśiṣṭha in the Malla kingdom to the south of Kapilavastu at a distance of 12 yojanas (Mahāvastu, II, 164).

Malla

Kus'igrāma

Mukuṭabandhana caitya

Yamakas'ālavanaṁ

Anomiya

The capital of the Kāśī country was Bārāṇasī (modern Benares). The Tathāgata once said : "Bārāṇasīṁ gamiṣyāmi gatvā vai Kāsināmapurīṁ" (Lalitavistara, p. 406) ; evidently Kāśī was the larger unit, i.e., the janapada, and Bārāṇasī was the capital (purī) of the Kāśīs or the people of Kāśī.[1] That Kāśī was a janapada is attested to by the same text (Ibid, p. 405). Its capital

Kās'ī

[1] Reference is made in the Lalitavistara (p. 215) of a certain kind of cloth called Kās'ika—vastra whith was most probably manufactured in Kās'ī.

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Bārāṇaśī finds a prominent place in the literature of Hindus and Buddhists alike, and is again and again mentioned in the Sanskrit Buddhist texts. In the Mahāvastu, Bārāṇasī is mentioned to have been situated on the bank of the river Varaṇā (Vol. III, p. 402); but according to the Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā Bārāṇasī was on the Ganges (6th, p. 31 and 32). In the Divyāvadāna the city is described as prosperous, extensive, populous, and a place where alms could easily be obtained (p. 73). It was not oppressed by deceitful and quarrelsome people (Ibid. p. 98). The Buddha once set out to go to Kāśī manifesting, as he went, the manifold supernatural course of life of the Magadha people (Buddhacarita Kāvya, Bk. XV, v. 90). The city of Bārāṇasī was hallowed by the feet of the Buddha (Sarvārthasiddha) who came here to preach his excellent doctrine. He gave a discourse on the Dharmacakrapravarttana (Wheel of Law) sūtra in the Deer Park near Benares, a fact which is again and again referred to in both Pāli and Sanskrit Buddhist texts (Saundarananda Kāvya, Ch. III., vs. 10-11 : Cf, Buddhacarita Kāvya, Bk. XV., v. 87 ; Lalitavistara, pp. 412-13, etc.)

Benares was a great trading centre of Buddhist India. Rich merchants of the city used to cross over high seas with ships laden with merchandise. One such merchant once crossed over to the Rākṣasī island which, however, is difficult to be identified (Mahāvastu, III. p. 286). A wealthy merchant came to Benares from Takṣaśīlā (mod. Taxila) with the object of carrying on trade (Ibid., II., pp. 166-167). The Divyāvadāna informs us that a caravan trader reached Benares from Uttarāpatha during the reign of King Brahmadatta who heard him saying thus : "Now I have

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reached Benares, bringing with me articles for sale." He was welcomed by the king who gave him shelter (pp. 510 ff).

Kāśī came in conflict with Kośala several times and each time the king of Kāśī was defeated. At last when he was going to make desperate final attack the king of Kośala refused to fight and abdicated his throne (Mahāvastu, III., p. 349).

Brahmadatta, king of Benares, is said to have once apprehended that a great famine lasting for 12 years would visit Benares. He, therefore, asked the inhabitants of the kingdom to leave the city, but those who had enough provisions were permitted to remain. A large number of people died on account of the famine, but one person who had enormous wealth in his possession gave alms to a Pratyeka-Buddha who went to him. The wife of the person prayed in return for a boon to the effect that a pot of rice cooked by her would be sufficient for hundreds of thousands of people. Her husband prayed that his granaries might always be kept filled up with paddy, and the son in his turn prayed that his treasures might always be full of wealth although he might spend as much as he liked. All the boons prayed for were granted (Div., pp. 132 ff).

In the Śikṣāsamuccaya (tr. by Bendall) of Śāntideva, a king of Benares is referred to have given his flesh to a hawk to save a dove (p. 99). Another king of Kāśī made a gift of an elephant to a king of Videha on his request. At this time a deadly disease was raging in the kingdom of Videha ; but as soon as the elephant stepped on the borders of Mithilā, the disease disappeared (Mahāvastu, I. p. 286 ff). The same source informs us that there once lived in

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Benares a king whose kingdom extended up to Taxila (Ibid. II. p. 82).

Kośala, during the days of early Buddhism, was an important kingdom and its king Prasenajit an important figure (Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā, 100th, p. 2). Kulmāspiṇḍi, another king of Kośala, is claimed in the Bodhisattvāvadāna to have been none other than the Lord Buddha himself (N. B. L. p. 50). Another virtuous king of Kośala to avoid bloodshed in a war with the king of Kāśī abdicated his throne and went to a voluntary exile. In his exile he greatly helped a merchant who in a later existence came to be born as Ajñāta Kauṇḍinya (Mahāvastu, N. B. L., p. 156).

Kos'ala

That the ancient Kośala kingdom was divided into two great divisions, the river Sarayū serving as the wedge between the two, is suggested by the Avadānaśataka (N. B. L. p. 20) wherein a reference is made to a war between the kings of North and South Kośala.

Mārakaraṇḍa was a locality in the kingdom of Kośala (Mahāvastu, Vol. I. p. 319).

The most important capital city of Kośala was 'Śrāvastī'.[1] This city was full of kings, princes, their

[1] S'rāvastī is identical with the great ruined city on the south bank of the Rapti called Saheth-Maheth.

Sāketa was another capital of the Kos'ala kingdom. In the Mahāvastu Avadāna (Mahāvastu, Senart's Ed., Vol. I., p. 348) we read that Sujāta, one of the descendants of Māndhātā became king of the Iksvākus in the great city Sāketa. The city is mentioned in the Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā (3rd, p. 2) to have been adorned with domes.

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councillors, ministers and followers, Kṣatriyas, Brāhmaṇas, householders, etc. (Lalitavistara, Ch. I.). There at 'S'rāvastī' was the famous garden of Anāthapiṇḍika at Jetavana frequently referred to in Pāli and Sanskrit Buddhist texts. There the Buddha stayed with his retinue of bhikkhus for a number of times and received hundreds of householders as followers and disciples. The Divyāvadāna informs us that Mahākātyāyana desirous of going to Madhyadeśa first reached Sindhu and then Śrāvastī (p. 581). Merchants of Śrāvastī went to Ceylon crossing over the high seas (N. B. L. Avadānaśataka p. 19 ; cf. Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā, 7th, p. 50). In the city of Śrāvastī a poor brahmin named Savastika took to cultivation to earn his livelihood (Ibid. 61st p. 2). It was in this city that the Buddha gave religious instructions to the citizens whose darkness of ignorance was thereby dispelled (Ibid. 6th, p. 3 ; 79th p. 2 ; 82nd p. 2). The royal family of the Kośalas is referred to in the Lalitavistara (pp. 20-21) as one in which Bodhisattva might desire to be born.

S'rāvastī

The Mahāvastu (III. p. 101) refers to the Nyagrodhārāma of Kośala where the Buddha is said to have once taken up his residence. It was at the Jetavana grove of Śrāvastī that Devadatta sent assassins to kill the Lord who, however, received the murderers very hospitably (Avadānaśataka, N. B. L., p. 27). It was also at this grove that when Prasenajit, king of Śrāvastī, was retiring after adoring the Lord, 500 geese came to him and announced that King Pañcāla had been greatly pleased to notice the King of Kośala's devotion, and was coming to congratulate him on his conversion to the faith (Ibid. pp. 12-13). King

Nyagrodhārāma

Jetavana

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Bimbisāra also interviewed the Lord at Jetavana (Ibid. p. 45). The same text refers to the fact that the Lord made no distinction as to proper and improper times in preaching the truths of religion. One day he preached while cleansing the Jetavana with a broom in hand (Ibid. p. 29). The Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā (52nd, p. 20) refers to a king of Kośala named Hiraṇyavarmā who imposed a fine on a brahmin named Kapila.

Cedi—Reference to Cedi as one of the sixteen Janapadas of Jambudvīpa is made in the Lalitavistara (p. 22). The ancient Cedi country lay near the Jumna and was contiguous to that of the Kurus. It corresponds roughly to the modern Bundelkhand and the adjoining region.

Vatsa—Like the Cedi kingdom the Vatsa Janapada is also referred to in the Lalitavistara (p. 27). The Vatsa dynasty is therein described as rich, thriving, kind and generous. The Mahāvastu (Vol. II. p. 2) refers to King Udayana of the Vatsa country and his capital Kausāmbī.[1] The same text refers to the fact that King Bimbisāra of Magadha and Udayana of Avantī requested the Lord, just when he had descended from the Tusita heaven, to honour Rājagṛha or Kausāmbī by making it his birth-place.[2] In a comparatively modern Sanskrit Mahayanist text (N. B. L. p. 269), the monastery of Ghośirā, in the suburbs of Kauśāmbī is referred to.

Kausāmbī

[1] The Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā (35th, p. 3) has a similar reference where it is stated that Kaus'āmbī was ruled by the Vatsa King Udayana. Kaus'āmbī is identical with modern Kosam near Allahabad.

[2] Mahāvastu (Senart's Ed.), Vol. II, p. 2.

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The site may probably be identical with the old Ghositārāma of Kosāmbī referred to so frequently in the Pāli Vinaya texts. Aśvaghosa in his Saundarananda-Kāvya (Law's translation, p. 9) refers to a hermitage (ārāma) of one Kuśāmba where the city of Kauśāmbī was built. The Śiśumāra hill identical probably with Suṁsumāragiri of the Pāli Jātakas which sheltered the Bhagga (Bhārga) state was included in the Vatsa territory. There on that hill lived a rich householder named Buddha. He gave his daughter Rūpiṇi to the son of Anāthapiṇḍada (N. B. L. Divyāvadānamālā, p. 309).

S'isumāra Hill

Matsya—The Matsya country, one of the 16 Janapadas enumerated in the Lalitavistara (p. 22), comprises the modern territory of Jaipur ; it included the whole of the present territory of Alwar with a portion of Bharatpur. The capital of the Matsya country was Virāṭanagara of Vairāṭ (so called because it was the capital of Virāṭa, King of the Matsyas) which has perhaps a veiled reference in the name Bairatīputra Saṁjaya referred to in the Mahāvastu (III. pp. 59, 90).

Sūrasena—The capital of the Sūrasena Janapada was Mathurā, generally identified with Maholi, five miles to the south-west of the present town of Mathurā or Muttra (U. P.).

Mathurā—In the Lalitavistara (p. 21) the city of Mathurā is described as rich, flourishing and populous, the metropolis of King Suvāhu of the race of the valiant Kaṁsa. Upagupta, the teacher of As'oka, was the son of Gupta, a rich man of Mathurā (As'okāvadāna, N. B. L., p. 10.) He was intended by his father to be a disciple of Soṇavāsī (Bodhisatvāvadāna

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Kalpalatā, 72nd, pp. 2-3) who was a propagator of the Buddhist faith at Mathurā. At Urumuṇḍa Hill Urumuṇḍa, a hill in Mathurā, Soṇavāsi converted Naṭa and Bhaṭa, two nāgas and erected two vihāras of the same name in commemoration of their conversion (Ibid ; also Cf. Bodhisattvā-vadāna-Kalpalatā, 71st, p. 13 for a reference to the Urumuṇḍa Hill). The famous courtesan Vāsavadattā lived at Mathurā (Div. p. 352). There also lived in Mathurā two brothers, Naṭa and Bhaṭa, who were merchants (Ibid, p. 349). One Padmaka, beholding in his youth, a dead body felt disgusted with the world, and became eventually a hermit. When at Mathurā, he entered the house of a prostitute for alms ; she was, however, charmed with the hermit's appearance and sought his love (N. B. L., Aśokāvadāna, p. 15). The Divyāvadāna seems to attest to the fact that there was a bridge of boats between Mathurā and Pāṭaliputra (p. 386). Upagupta is credited to have converted 18 lacs of the people of Mathurā (Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā, 72nd, p. 71).

Another important city of the Sūrasena janapada was Kānyakubja. Kuśa, the son of Kānyakubja Abūdā, the chief queen of Ikṣvāku, king of Benares, married Sudarsanā, the daughter of the king of Kānyakubja in Sūrasena (N. B. L., Kuśa Jātaka, p. 110). The same story is more elaborately given elsewhere. Bhadrakasat Mahendraka, the tribal king of Bhadrakasat in Kānyakubja had a beautiful daughter. Alindā, the chief queen[1] of the king of

[1] The name of the queen is given as Abūdā in the Kusa Jātaka which is but a substance of this story.

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Benares (Subandhu was his name) immediately after the king's accession to the throne, set a negotiation on foot for her son's marriage to the daughter of king Mahendraka. The match was soon settled and the nuptials were celebrated at Kānyakubja (N. B. L., Mahāvastu-Avadāna, p. 143 ff). The Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā refers to Kānyakubja forest (80th, p. 77) which must have been situated somewhere near the city of the same name.

Kānyakubja forest

The ancient Kuru country is mentioned in the Lalitavistara as one of the sixteen janapadas of Jambudvīpa and may be said to have comprised the Kurukṣetra or Thaneswar. The district included Sonapat, Anun, Karnal, and Pānipat, and was situated between the Sarasvatī on the north and Dṛśadvatī on the south. In the Kalpadruma-avadāna (N. B. L., p. 297) it is stated that the Buddha once visited the city of the Kauravas which seems to have probably been the capital of the Kuru country, but unfortunately the name of the city is not given. It is, however, possible on the epic authority to identify the Kaurava city with Hastināpura which is several times mentioned in the Sanskrit Buddhist text. The Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā definitely states that it was the capital of the Kuru kings (3rd Pallava 116 ; 64th, p. 9). It is stated that king Arjuna of Hastināpura was in the habit of killing those holy men who were unable to satisfy him by answers to the questions put by him (Mahāvastu-avadāna, III., p. 361). Sudhanu, son of Subāhu, another king of Hastināpura, fell in love with a Kinnarī in a distant country, and came back with her to the capital where he

Kuru

Hastināpura

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had long been associated with his father in the government of the kingdom. (Mahāvastu, Vol. II, pp. 94-95) Utpala, son of Vidyādhara, a serpent-catcher, dwelt at Hastināpura in the vicinity of Valkalāyana's hermitage (Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā, 64th, p. 62.) The city is described in the Divyāvadāna as a rich, prosperous and populous city. Close by there was a big lake full of lotuses, swans and cranes (p. 435). This, it can be surmised, was the Dvaipāyana-hrada. The place was visited by the Buddha. Here an excellent brahmin approached him and praised him (Ibid. p. 72). The city was once ruled over by a pious and righteous king named Uttarapañcāla Mahādhana. In the Divyāvadāna Hastināpura is described as a rich, prosperous, and populous city (p. 435). The Lalitavistara refers to Hastināpura as having been ruled by a king descended from the Pāndava race, valiant and the most beautiful and glorious among conquerors (Chap. III).

Uttarakuru

Mention is often made in the Sanskrit Buddhist sources as well as in Pāli texts of the Uttarakuru country (Uttarakurudvīpa), obviously a mythical region. The Lalitavistara refers to four Pratyanta-dvīpas or border-countries ; they are Pūrvavideha, Aparagodāniya, Uttarakuru and Jambu-dvīpa (19 ; cf. Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā, 4th, pp. 48, 50 & 71). The alphabet of the Uttarakuru country is also referred to as having been mastered by the Buddha (Ibid. p. 126). The Uttarakurudvīpa is stated to have been ten thousand yojanas in extent (Ibid. p. 149). In the Divyāvadāna it is mentioned as an island where people lived unattached to the worldly life (p. 215).

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Pañcāla

Pañcāla was originally the country north and west of Delhi from the foot of the Himālayas to the river Chambal, but it was divided into north and south Pañcāla, separated by the Ganges. It roughly corresponds to modern Budaon, Furrukhabad and the adjoining districts of the United Provinces.

That the Pañcāla country was divided into two divisions is attested to by the Divyāvadāna wherein we read of two Pañcāla Viṣayas : Uttara Pañcāla and Dakṣiṇa Pañcāla. The Jātakas as well as the Mahābhārata also refer to these two divisions of the country. According to the Divyāvadāna (p. 435) the capital of Uttara Pañcāla was Hastināpura, but according to the Jātakas (Cowell's Jat. III., p. 230) the capital was Kampillanagara. The Mahābhārata, however, states that the capital of Uttara-Pañcāla was Āhicchatra or Chatravatī (indentical with modern Ramnagar in the Bareilley district) while Dakṣiṇa Pañcāla had its capital at Kampilya (Mbh. 138, 73-74) identical with modern Kampil in the Farukhabad district, U. P.[1] and Padumāvati, the wife of a Pañcāla king is referred to in the Mahāvastu (III. p. 169).

According to the Divyāvadāna, Hastināpura was the capital of the Pañcāla kingdom but according to the Epics and the Jātakas, Kampilya was the capital. In one of his former existences the Buddha was born as Rakṣita, son of Brahmadatta's priest. This Brahmadatta was the king of Kampilya in Pañcāla (Mahāvastu, I., p. 283). In one of his former existences,

[1] For reconciliation of these apparent discrepancies in the different evidences see my "Geography of Early Buddhism", pp. 18-19.

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the Bodhisattva was Puṇyavanta, son of Añjanas, king of Bārāṇasī. Once he with his four friends set out on a journey to Kampilya in order to test the usefulness of their respective excellences (Mahāvastu, Vol. III. p. 33). When Prasenajit, king of Śrāvastī, was retiring from Jetavana after adoring the Buddha, 500 geese came to him, and announced that the king of Pañcāla had been greatly pleased to notice Prasenajit's devotion (N. B. L., Asokāvadāna, pp. 12-13). Kāmpilya in the kingdom of Pañcāla is mentioned in the Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā to have been ruled by a pious king Satyarata (66th, p. 4) and by King Brahmadatta (68th, p. 9).

S'ivi

The Śivi country is mentioned in the Lalitavistara (p. 22) as well as in the Mahāvastu (Law, 'A Study of the Mahāvastu', p. 9) as one of the sixteen janapadas of Jambudvīpa. According to the Jātakas (Jāt. IV, p. 401) Ariṭṭhapura was the capital of the Śivī kingdom. Ariṣṭhapura (Pāli Ariṭṭhapura) is mentioned in the Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā (2nd, p. 2 and 3) to have been ruled by King Śrīsena. The same text refers to the city of Śīvavatī, doubtless identical with the capital of the Śivī country, to have been ruled by King Śivī (91st, p. 6). In a passage of the Ṛgveda (VII. 18, 7) there is a mention of the Śivī people aloug with the Alinas, Pakthas, Bhalānasas and Viśanins. Early Greek writers also refer to a country in the Punjab as the territory of the Siboi. It is highly probable that the Siva country of the Ṛgveda, the Sibi country of the Jātakas, and the Siboi country of the Greek geographers are one and the same. Patañjali mentions a country in the north called Śivapura (IV. 2, 2) which is certainly identical with Sibipura mentioned in a Shorkot inscription (Ep.

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Ind., 1921, p. 6). The Siva, Sibi or Siboi territory is, therefore, identical with the Shorkot region of the Punjab—the ancient Sivapura or Sibipura. Strictly speaking the Sivi country should, therefore, be included in the Uttarāpatha.

Das'ārṇa

Daśārṇa, according to the Lalitavistara and the Mahāvastu, was one of the sixteen janapadas of Jambudvīpa. The country has been mentioned in the Mahābhārata (II, 5-10) as well as in the Meghadūta of Kālidāsa (24-25). It is generally identified with the Vidisā or Bhilsā region in the Central Provinces.

The Aśmaka country is referred to in the Mahāvastu (III. 363) wherein it is stated that there was a hermitage on the Godāvarī in the Aśmaka country where Sarabhaṅga, the son of the royal priest of Brahmadatta, king of Kampilya, retired after having received ordination. The country is doubtless identical with Pāli Assaka whose capital was Potala or Potana. Asaṅga in his Sūtrālaṁkāra mentions another Aśmaka country which, however, was situated on the Indus. Asaṅga's Aśmaka seems, therefore, to be identical with the kingdom of Assakenus of the Greek writers which lay to the east of the Sarasvatī at a distance of about 25 miles from the sea on the Swat valley. Aśmaka of the Sanskrit Buddhist texts, was situated on the Godāvarī. Strictly speaking, therefore, the Aśmaka country lay outside the pale of Madhyadeśa.[1]

[1] For various references to the Assaka or As'maka tribe and their different settlements, see my Geography of Early Buddhism, pp. 21-22.

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In early Pāli literature, Assaka has been distinguished from Mūlaka which lay to its north, but has always been associated with Avantī which lay immediately to the north-east. The Gaṇḍavyūha refers to the city of Samantamukha in the Mūlaka country (N.B.L., p. 91).

Mūlaka

Avantī[1] is referred to in the Mahāvastu and the Lalitavistara as one of the 16 janapadas of Jambudvīpa. The Bodhisattvāvadāna refers again and again to King Udayana of Avantī (N. B. L., p. 74). There in the vicinity of Avantī lived Uttara and Nalaka, the two sons of one Jayī, the family priest of King of Tvarkaṭa, (N. B. L., Bhadrakalpāvadāna, p. 44).

Avantī

According to Pāli texts (Dīpavaṁsa, Oldenberg's Ed., p. 57) the capital of Avantī was Ujjenī or Ujjayinī which, however, according to Sanskrit Buddhist texts, was included in the Dakṣiṇāpatha. The Mahāvastu (Vol. II, p. 30) states that after the birth of the Bodhisattva, Asita, a brahmin of Ujjayinī in Dakṣiṇāpatha, who had lived long on the Vindhya mountain, came from the Himālayas, his recent abode, to see the Bodhisattva. Ujjayinī is also referred to in the Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā (76th, p. 10).

Ujjayinī

Kapilavastu is famous in the history of Buddhist India as the home of the Śākyas (Saundarananda Kāvya, Ch. I, also Cf. Mahāvastu : Law's "A Study of the Mahāvastu", pp. 55 ff). It was also known as Kapilasya vastu (Saundarananda Kāvya, Ch. I.). The Lalitavistara

Kapilavastu

[1] Avantī roughly corresponds to modern Malwa, Nimar and adjoining parts of the Central Provinces.

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calls it Kapilavastu and sometimes Kapilapura (p. 243) or Kapilāhvayapura (p. 28). All these names occur also in the Mahāvastu (Vol. II, p. 11). As to the origin of the name Kapilavastu we have to turn to the Saundarananda Kāvya where it is stated that as the city was built in the hermitage of the sage Kapila it was called Kapilavastu (Ch. I). The Divyāvadāna also connects Kapilavastu with the sage Kapila (p. 548). In the Buddhacarita Kāvya (Bk. I, verse 2) Kapilavastu is described as the dwelling place of the great sage Kapila. It was surrounded by seven walls (Mahāvastu II, 75) and is always referred to by the Lalitavistara as a Mahānagara or great city with a good number of gardens, avenues and market places (pp. 58, 77, 98, 101, 102, 113, 123). There were four city gates and towers all over the city (Ibid, p. 58). An explanation of the origin of the Sākyas is given in the Saundarananda Kāvya (Ch. I) wherein it is stated that as the Sākyas built their houses surrounded by Sāka trees, they were called Sākyas. The Mahāvastu gives a story of the foundation of Kapilavastu and the settlement of the Sākyas there (Vol. I, p. 350 ff). The Lalitavistara (pp. 136-137) gives 500 as the number of members of the Sākya Council.

Kapilavastu is stated to have been immensely rich, an abode of the powerful, a home of learning, and a resort of the virtuous. It was full of charities, festivals and congregations of powerful princes. It is described as having a good strength of horses, elephants and chariots (Saundarananda Kāvya, Ch. I). With arched gateways and pinnacles, (Buddhacarita-Kāvya, Bk. I, v. 5) it was surrounded by the beauty of the lofty table-land (Ibid, v. 2). In this city none but intelligent and qualified men was engaged

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as minister (Saundarananda Kāvya, Ch. I). As there was no improper taxation, the city was full of people (Ibid), and poverty could not find any place there where prosperity shone resplendently (Buddhacarita Kāvya, Bk. I, v. 4).

In the city of Kapilavastu the Buddha gave his religious discourse and his relations listened to it with great eagerness (Saundarananda Kāvya, Ch. II, v. 26). At a retired place, 96 miles from Kapilavastu, in the kingdom of the Mallas, in the vicinity of the āśrama of Vaśiṣṭha, the Bodhisattva Gautama had parted with his servant Chandaka and his horse Kaṇṭhaka (Mahāvastu, Vol. II, pp. 164-165).

Nyagrodha garden

The Uposadhāvadānam (N. B. L., p. 265) refers to the Nyagrodha garden near Kapilavastu. Viśvāmitra was a young preacher who resided at Kapilavastu (N. B. L. Gaṇḍavyūha, p. 92). Sobhita was a rich Sākya of Kapilavastu (Avadāna-Śataka, N. B. L., p. 37). Another rich Sākya of the city had his only daughter named Śuklā (Ibid, p. 35).

Gayā

Gayā named after the royal sage of the same name is often mentioned as a city visited by the Lord. The river Nairañjanā (Phalgu) which flows through the city was also visited by him (Buddhacarita, Bk. XII, vs. 87-88). The Buddha crossed the Ganges and went to the hermitage of Kāśyapa at Gayā (Ibid, Bk. V. XVII, 8).

Nairañjanā river

He dwelt on the bank of the river Nairañjanā at the foot of the Bodhi tree where Māra approached him and asked him to leave the world (Div. p. 202).

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In the Mahāvastu (Vol. II, p. 123) it is stated that the Buddha came to Uruvilva where he saw nicely looking trees, pleasing lakes, plain grounds, and the transparent water of the Nairañjanā river. From Uruvilva the Lord wanted to go to Benares. He directed his steps accordingly towards that holy city. His route lay through Gayā, Nāhāl, Bundadvira Lohitavastuka, Gandhapura and Sārathipura (N. B. L., Mahāvastu-avadāna, p. 157, cf. Lalitavistara, pp. 406-7). From Gayā the Buddha had, however, gone to Aparagayā where he was invited by Sudarśana, the king of snakes (A Study of the Mahāvastu, p. 156).

Uruvilva

Aparagayā

The Gayāśīrṣa mountain was situated at Gayā from where the Buddha went to Uruvilva and Senāpatigāma for the attainment of Perfect Enlightenment (A Study of the Mahāvastu, p. 81 ; cf. Lalitavistara, p. 248). The Lalitavistara (p. 405) refers to the Bodhimaṇḍa of Gayā not far from which the Bodhisattva met an Ājīvika.

Gayās'īrsa mountain

Bodhimaṇḍa

Cuṇḍādvila was a city once visited by the Buddha where he announced to the Ājīvaka named Upaka that without a master he had become the Buddha (A Study of the Mahāvastu, pp. 156-57). It is, however, difficult to indentify the city.

Cundādvila

A rich and prosperous city referred to in the Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā (56th, p. 2) was obviously a mythical city.

Hingumardana city

The rich village of Nālandā is stated in the Mahāvastu (Vol. III, p. 56) to have been situated at a distance of half a yojana from Rājagṛha. Nālandā is identified with modern

Nālandā

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Baragaon, seven miles to the north-west of Rajgir in the district of Patna. (See my "Geography of Early Buddhism," p. 31 for more details).

Vandhumati and Valgumati

These were the two cities mentioned in the Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā to have been visited by Buddha Vipassi and Gautama Buddha (27th, p. 54 and 39th, p. 2). They cannot, however, be identified.

Puṇḍravardhana

According to the Buddhist tradition recorded in the Divyāvadāna the eastern boundary of the Madhyadeśa extended up to Puṇḍravardhana (pp. 21-22). Yuan Chwang, the celebrated Chinese traveller, also holds the same view ; but according to the Mahāvagga of the Vinaya Piṭaka it extended up to Kajaṅgala. Puṇḍravardhana was a stronghold of the Niganṭhas. It once happened that a Professor of the Niganṭha school who reviled the religion of the Buddha, had got a picture painted representing himself with the Buddha lying at his feet. This he had widely circulated in the province of Puṇḍravardhana. Aśoka heard of it and was so enraged that he desired to punish him. (N. B. L., Aśokāvadāna, p. 11). The same story is related also in the Divyāvadāna in a slightly different version (p. 427). The Divyāvadāna adds that here in Puṇḍravardhana 18,000 Ājīvikas were killed (p. 427). The Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā (93rd, pp. 3-4) states that Sumāgadhā, daughter of Anāthapiṇḍada, was married to a person at Puṇḍravardhana (a variant reading of Puṇḍravardhana). The details of the story are given in Sumāgadhā Avadāna wherein it is stated that the name of the groom was Vṛṣabhadatta (N. B. L., p. 237 ; also cf. Divyāvadāna, p. 402).

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Dvīpavatī

In the Divyāvadāna, Dvīpavatī is mentioned as a city ruled by the King Dvīpa. It was rich, prosperous and populous (p. 246). The city is stated to have been the birth-place of Dīpaṁkara Buddha (Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā, 89th, p. 75). The city cannot, however, be identified.

Kṣemavatī

It was a city ruled by a king named Kṣema. There lived in that city a merchant banker who was a staunch supporter of the Tathāgata named Kṣemaṁkara (Divyāvadāna, p. 242). The city, probably a mythical one, cannot be identified.

Kus'āvatī

It was a beautiful city of Mahāsudarśana (Divyāvadāna, p. 227).

Kapila's Aś'rama

The hermitage of Kapila was by the side of the Himālayas (Saundarananda Kāvya, Ch. I, v. 5). This is also corroborated by the evidence of the Divyāvadāna (p. 548) wherein it is stated that the hermitage of the sage Kapila was situated not far from the river Bhāgīrathī by the side of the Himālayas.

Utpalāvatī
Sobhāvatī

It was a city inhabited by a prostitute famous for her charity (Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā, 51st, p. 6). King Sobha built in this city a stūpa dedicated to the teacher Kakusandha (Ibid. 78th, p. 28).

Sāhañjani hermitage

To the north of Kāsī, by the side of the Himālayas, there was a hermitage Sāhañjana where lived a sage named Kāśyapa (Mahāvastu, III, 143).

Senāpatigrāma

Once while the Buddha was engaged in deep meditation for six years at Senāpatigrāma in Uruvilva, a public woman named Gavā kept a coarse cloth on the branch of a tree for the Buddha's use after meditation. By virtue

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of this noble deed, she was reborn in heaven as a nymph (A Study of the Mahāvastu, p. 154).

Uttara

There was a city named Uttara, which was 12 yojanas from east to west, and seven yojanas from south to north. Seven walls surrounded the city and there were seven large tanks. The city-gates and palaces were decorated with glass, gold, silver and other valuable gems and jewels. The king of the city was a Kṣatriya and a Rājacakravarttī (Mahāvastu, I, p. 249).

Madraka

The Madrakaviṣaya is referred to in the Mahāvastu (III, p. 15). The same text also refers to its king (p. 9). Madraka country is doubtless identical with the Maddaraṭṭha of the Pāli texts.

Kus'īgrāmaka

Kuśīgrāmaka, obviously a village, is referred to in the Divyāvadāna (p. 208). Its variant reading is Kuśilagrāmaka or Kuśalagrāmaka which, however, is difficult to be identified.

Brahmottara

Brahmottara, a city, is mentioned in the Divyāvadāna (p. 602) along with two other cities, Sadamattakam and Nandanam. These two cities cannot be identified, but Brahmottara is probably identical with Suhmottara of the Purāṇas which is only a misreading for Brahmottara.

Mis'rakavana

Miśrakavana is referred to along with Nandanavana and Pāriyātra in the Divyāvadāna (pp. 194-195).

Vāsavagrāmaka

Vāsavagrāmaka is referred to in the Divyāvadāna (1, 4, and 10 ff). The village must be identified with some locality near Śrāvastī.

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Sāṅkās'ya

This is the place of the Buddha's descent from Heaven which is referred to in the Divyāvadāna (pp. 150 and 401). Sāṅkāśya is doubtless identical with Pāli Saṅkassa or Saṅkissa. The place is generally identified with Sankisa Basantapura, situated on the north bank of the river Ikṣumatī now called Kālīnadī between Atrañji and Kanoj, and 23 miles west of Fategarh in the district of Etah and 45 miles north-west of Kanoj.

Sthūṇa

The Brahman district of Sthūṇa formed the western boundary of the Madhyadeśa (Div. 21-22 ; Vinaya Texts. S. B. E. XVII, pp 38-39). Sthūṇa or Pāli Thūna may be identified with Thaneswar. (See my "Geography of Early Buddhism," p. 2 and foot-note 2).

Rāmagrāma

Rāmagāma (Ramagrāma) was the capital of the Koliyas or Kauliya tribe, a story of whose origin is detailed in the Mahāvastu-avadāna (Vol. I, 355). Aśoka caused a caitya and other religious edifices to be erected at Rāmagāma. The Divyāvadāna refers to the eighth stūpa to have been erected at Rāmagāma ; apparently it was the last of the eight stūpas built over the relics of the Master (Div. p. 380).

Lumbinī garden

References to the Lumbinī garden as the birth-place of the Buddha are numerous, but they have no special geographical import. The Rummindeī pillar inscription of Aśoka locates beyond doubt the Lumbinī grove. The inscription on Niglīva pillar (now situated 38 miles north-west of Uskabazar Station on the B. N. W. Ry.) shows that it was erected near the stūpa of Konāgamana, but it is not now *in situ*.

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Bhaṇḍāligrāma

At Bhaṇḍāligrāma the Lord converted a Caṇḍāli and at Pāṭala (probably Pāṭaliputra) he made Potala, a follower of his creed to erect a splendid stūpa on his hair and nails. The Lord said to Indra that a king, Milinda by name, would also erect a stūpa at Paṭala (Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā, 57th, P.).

Daksiṇagiri

Contemporaneous with the Buddha who was at that time lodged in the Veṇuvana on the side of the Kalandakanivāpa at Rājagṛha, there lived in a retired village named Dakkhiṇagiri one Sampurṇa, a brahmin, as rich as Kuvera (N. B. L., Avadānaśataka, p. 17).

Dīpavatī

Dīpavatī or Dīpāvatī is described as a large royal city extending over an area of 84 square miles (Mahāvastu, N. B. L., p. 118). Sarvānanda, king of this great city, once visited the great vihāra of Prasannaśīla, and thence brought the Buddha Dīpaṁkara to his metropolis (N. B. L. Piṇḍapātrāvadānam, p. 195). The city cannot, however, be identified.

Kṛsāṇagrāma

Kṛṣāṇagrāma or Kṛṣigrāma is suggested in the Lalitavistara to have been situated somewhere near Kapilavastu (p. 135). The village may probably be identified with the place where the Bodhisattva gave up his crown and sword and cut off locks of his hair.

RIVERS, MOUNTAINS, ETC. OF MADHYADEŚA

Pāṇḍava hill

There is a reference to the Pāṇḍava Hill in the Mahāvastu (II. 198) where the Bodhisattva Gotama once took up his dwelling. It is difficult to identify the hill.

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Tattulya, Avarta, Niloda, Varambha, Aṣṭādaśavakra and Dhūmanetra mountains—The Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā refers to a number of mountains mentioned here (6th Pallava, 69-88). But they do not lend themselves to any identification.

Caṇḍagiri

The Mahāvastu refers to a mountain called Caṇḍagiri (III. 130) which it is not possible to identify.

Gangā

The holy river Gaṅgā is often mentioned in both Pāli and Sanskrit Buddhist sources. More than once the Bodhisattva arrived on the Ganges ; on one occasion the river was full to the brim (Lalitavistara, p. 407 ; also cf. Mahāvastu, III, p. 201).

Kailās'a Parvata

According to the Lalitavistara the big palaces of King Suddhodana are said to have resembled the Kailāśa Parvata (p. 111).

Yamunā

The river Yamunā is more than once mentioned in the Mahāvastu (Vol. III, p. 201). Sarabhaṅga, a disciple of Kāśyapa, was present at a great sacrifice held at a place between the Ganges and the Yamunā (N. B. L., Mahāvastu, p. 160).

Pāriyātra

Pāriyātra or Pāripātra mountains formed according to both Brahmanical and Buddhist tradition the southern boundary line of the Madhyadeśa. It is a branch of the Vindhyas and is mentioned in the Divyāvadāna along with Mandākinī, Chaitraratha, Pāruṣyaka, Nandanavana, Misrakāvana and Pāṇḍukambalaśīlā etc. (pp. 194-195).

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Gurupādaka Hill

The Gurupādaka hill is referred to in the Divyāvadāna (p. 61) in connection with the story of Maitreya who is supposed to have repaired to the Gurupādaka hill, perhaps a legendary name.

Himavanta

The Himālayas are mentioned everywhere in Sanskrit Buddhist literature.

Bodhivaṭa and Bodhidruma

They are again and again mentioned in connection with the penance and saṁbodhi of the Buddha. They certainly refer to the famous Bo-tree of Bodh Gayā at the foot of which the Buddha attained Enlightenment.

UTTARĀPATHA

Countries, Cities, Villages, Rivers, Mountains, etc.

According to the Pāli tradition contained in the Mahāvagga (Vinaya texts, S.B.E., XVI, pp. 38-39) and Sanskrit Buddhist tradition contained in the Divyāvadāna (pp. 21-22), the Uttarāpatha or northern country lay to the west and north-west of the two Brāhmaṇa districts of Sthūṇa (Thūna) and Upasthūṇa. Roughly, therefore, the northern country extended from Thaneswar to the eastern districts of modern Afghanisthan comprising the tract of land including Kāśmīr, the Punjab and the North-Western Provinces, and part of Sind. It is significant that Sanskrit Buddhist texts do not enumerate Gandhāra and Kamboja, both in Uttarāpatha, in their traditional list of the sixteen Mahājanapadas, but mention

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Śivi and Dasārṇa instead. And as far as we have been able to ascertain these texts hardly ever refer to the two countries of Gandhāra and Kamboja though mention is made of Takṣaśīlā more than once in the Divyāvadāna, the Aśokāvadāna and elsewhere.

Takṣasīlā

Takṣaśīlā (modern Taxila identical roughly with the district of Rawalpindi in the Punjab) was the capital of the Gandhāra kingdom. The Buddha was in one of his former births born as a king of Bārāṇasī, and his empire extended to Takṣaśīla where he had once marched to suppress a revolt (Mahāvastu, Vol. II, 82). In another of his former existences when the Buddha had been born as King Chandraprabha, the city of Takṣaśīlā was known as Bhadrasīlā ; but later it came to be known as Takṣaśīlā because here the head of Candraprabha was severed by a beggar brahmin (Divyāvadānamālā, N.B.L., p. 310).

During the reign of Aśoka a rebellion broke out in the distant province of Takṣaśīlā, and Kuṇāla, son of Aśoka, was sent to quell the disturbance. The subsequent tale, tragic and beautiful at the same time, is told in the Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā,[1] the Aśokāvadāna (N.B.L., pp. 9-10) as well as in the Divyāvadāna (p. 371 ff.). They give us the account of how Kuṇāla refused the love of his step-mother, how his two eyes were uprooted by way of revenge by that jealous lady, and how eventually he was driven out from Taxila where he was posted as Viceroy.

[1] According to the Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā (59th, p. 59) Taxila, however, belonged to King Kuñjarakarṇa when Kuṇāla was sent to conquer it.

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Kuṇāla with his devoted wife Kāñcanamālā wandered from place to place and at last came to the coach-house of Aśoka where he sang a song on his lute which attracted the attention of the king. The king then recognised his son and came to know all that had happened. Tiṣyarakṣitā was punished to death, and Kuṇāla got back his eyes.

From the Divyāvadāna it appears that Takṣaśilā was included in the empire of Bindusāra of Magadha, father of Aśoka, as well.

Kās'mīra

The Divyāvadāna refers to the beautiful city of Kāśmīra which was inhabited by the learned (p 399). Mādhyantika, a Bhikṣu, was sent to Kāśmīra as a missionary by his spiritual guide Ānanda. Kāśmira at that time was peopled solely by the Nāgas (N.B.L, Avadāna-Sataka, p. 67; also Cf. Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā, 70th, pp. 2-3). The Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā, (p. 105, p. 2) also refers to a Bhikṣu, Raivata by name, of Śailavihāra in Kāśmīra. The author of the "Sragdharā stotram" was a Buddhist monk of Kāśmīra.

Bhadras'ilā

In Uttarāpatha there was a city named Bhadraśilā, rich, prosperous and populous. It was 12 yojanas in length and breadth, and was well-divided with four gates and adorned with high vaults and windows. There was a royal garden in the city named Maṇigarbha (Divyāvadāna, p. 315). According to the Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā, the city was situated to the north of the Himālayas and that it was ruled by a king named Candraprabha (5th, pp. 2 and 6). The city came, later on, to be known as

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Takṣaśīlā because here the head of Candraprabha was severed by a beggar brahmin (Divyāvadānamālā, N. B. L., p. 310).

Gokarṇa

Mañjudeva, king of the mount Mañjuśri in China (obviously a mythical one) seeing the Kālihrada full of monstrous acquatic animals, and the temple of Svayambhū almost inaccessible, opened with his sword many of the valleys on the southern side of the lake. He opened the valleys of Kapotala Gandhavatī, Mṛgāsthalī, Gokarṇa, Varaya and Indravatī in succession.

After the departure of the Lord Krakuchanda from Nepal, Svayambhū produced eight vītarāgas or holy men who had mastered their passions. They lived there, granted happiness and prosperity to all creatures. One of those eight vītarāgas or holy men was Gokarṇeśvara, in Gokarṇa or the Vāgmatī where it falls from the mountain. (Svayambhū purāṇa, N. B. L., p. 253).

Satadru river

It is modern Sutlej, a tributary of the Ganges. Kinnarī Manoharā, wife of Prince Sudhanu, son of Suvāhu, king of Haśtināpura, while going to the Himālayas, crossed the river Śatadru and proceeded to the mount Kailāśa (A Study of the Mahāvastu, p. 118).

Vajrāvatī

Vajrāvatī in Uttarāpatha was ruled by king Vajracaṇḍa (Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā, 103rd, p. 4).

Puṣkarāvatī or Puṣkalāvatī

Puṣkarāvatī is referred to in the Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā (32nd, p. 40). The city is probably identical with Peukalautes of the Greek geographers which is the same as modern Peshawar.

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The country of the Kirātas, Daradas, Cīnas and Huṇas are referred to in the Lalitavistara (pp. 125-26).

Sākala

The city of Sākala is referred to in the Divyāvadāna (p. 434). It is doubtless identical with Sāgala (modern Sialkot in the Punjab), the city of the famous King Milinda.

Sindhu

The river Sindhu or Indus is referred to in the Divyāvadāna (p. 581). It is stated therein that Mahākātyāyana while proceeding towards the Madhyadeśa arrived on the Sindhu. (Athāyuṣmān Mahākātyāyano Madhyadeśaṁ āgantukāmaḥ Sindhum anuprāptaḥ).

APARĀNTA OR WESTERN COUNTRY

Countries, Cities, Villages, Etc.

Roruka

The Divyāvadāna (p. 544 ff) refers to two great cities of the time of the Buddha, e. g., Pāṭaliputra and Roruka. The latter may be identical with Alor, an old city of Sindh.

Sauvīra

Roruka in Sauvīra, was ruled by King Rudrāyaṇa who was killed by his son Śikhaṇḍi. As a punishment of this crime, the realm of Śikhaṇḍi was destroyed by a heavy shower of sand. Three pious men only survived, two ministers and a Buddhist monk. Bhiru, one of the two ministers, established a new city there which was named Bhiruka

Bhṛgukaccha

or Bhirukaccha after him. Thence probably came the name Bhṛgukaccha or Bharukaccha identical with Barygaza of Ptolemy (pp. 38, 152) and the Periplus of the Erythrean sea (pp. 40, 287) and modern Broach in Kathiawar. It was a rich and prosperous city thickly populated

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(Div. 545). The Gaṇḍavyūha (N. B. L., p. 92) refers to a goldsmith, Muktasāra by name, of Bharukaccha. The Lord Supāraga in his old age once undertook a voyage with a number of other merchants to trade with the inhabitants of a coast named Bharukaccha (Bodhisattvāvadāna, N. B. L., p. 51).

A brisk trade existed between Rājagṛha and Roruka. It is said that merchants from Rājagṛha went to Roruka for trade (Divyāvadāna, p. 544 ff). King Rudrāyaṇa of Roruka was a contemporary of King Bimbisāra of Magadha, and they became intimate friends. The Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā refers to Rauruka ruled by a famous king named Ūdrāyaṇa (40th, p. 4).

Surpāraka

When the Buddha was dwelling at Śrāvastī, there lived contemporaneously at the city of Surpāraka a householder named Bhava (Divyāvadāna, pp. 24 ff). Surpāraka seems to have been an important centre of trade and commerce when merchants used to flock with merchandise (Ibid, p. 42 ff). It is identical with modern Sopārā in Gujrat.

DAKṢIṆĀPATHA

Countries, Cities, Villages, Mountains, Etc.

The Dakṣiṇāpatha or Southern country lay to the south of the river Sarāvatī, the town of Satakaṇṇika and the Pāriyātra hill (Mahāvagga and Divyāvadāna). The Janapadas of Aśmaka and Avantī were, strictly speaking, included in the Dakṣiṇāpatha. The Dakṣiṇāpatha is often referred to in the Mahāvastu, the Aśokāvadāna and the Gaṇḍavyūha. After the birth

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of the Bodhisattva Asita, a brahmin of Ujjayinī in Dakṣiṇāpatha came from the Himālayas to see the Bodhisattva (Mahāvastu, Vol. II. 30). While roaming in Dakṣiṇāpatha a self-exiled king of Kośala saw a shipwrecked merchant who was on his way to Kośala (Mahāvastu III, 850). On the day of Girivalgu-saṁgama, a festival was held at Śrāvastī, people assembled from all quarters of the city. Among others there came Kubalayā, a dancing girl from Dakṣiṇāpatha (N. B. L., Aśokāvadāna, p. 35).

Dharmagrāma

There in the village of Dharmagrāma in Dakṣiṇāpatha lived a brahmin named Śivirātra (Ibid, p. 92). The Gaṇḍavyūha (N. B. L. Ms. No. A 9) mentions a long list of place names which were all included in the Dakṣiṇāpatha. Important of them were :—Mount Sugrīva in the country called Rāmavarta, Supratiṣṭhita of Sāgara on the way to Laṅkā, Vajapura, a city of Draviḍa, Samudravelāti to the east of Mahāprabhu ; Sumukha in the country of Śramaṇamaṇḍala ; city of Samantamukha in Mūlaka ; Sarvagrāma of Tosala in Mitatosala ; Utpalabhūti in Pṛthurāṣṭra ; Kaliṅgavana ; Poṭalaka Paṣatmaṇḍala and Dvārāvatī. Of these Mūlaka, Toṣala, Kaliṅgavana and Potalaka (Potala or Potana) are well known in Buddhist literature ; others do not lend themselves to any definite indentification. Śramaṇamaṇḍala may refer to modern Sravaṇa Belgola in Mysore, once a stronghold of Jainism, and Supratiṣṭhita, to Paithan on the Godāvarī.

A number of place names of Dakṣiṇāpatha

Kaliṅga is referred to more than once in the Mahāvastu as an important kingdom. Renu, son of Disāmpati, king of Kaliṅga, was once compelled, by the instigation of Mahāgovinda,

Kaliṅga

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the son of his family priest, to cede the six provinces of his father's empire, namely, Kalinga, Pattāna, Māheśavatī, Vārāṇasī, Roruka and Mithilā to the refractory nobles (Mahāvastu III, 204 ff.). Brahmadatta, a wicked king once reigned in Kaliṅga. He used to have Śramaṇas and Brāhmanas invited to his palace and devoured by wild animals (Mahāvastu III, 361). Dantapura which is also referred to by Yuan Chwang was probably one of the capital cities of Kaliṅga[1] where ruled King Nālīkela (Mahāvastu III, p. 361). The alphabet of the Kaliṅga country is referred to in the Lalitavistara as having been mastered by the Bodhisattva (pp. 125-26).

Khaṇḍadīpa

The Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā mentions a country named Khaṇḍadīpa burnt by the king of Kaliṅga (8th, p. 27).

The Vindhyaparvata is said to have been situated south of Avanti, and on it was Dṛti's hermitage (N. B. L., Bhadrakalpa-avadāna, p. 44). The same text refers to the Vindhya forest on the outskirts of the mountain ranges (p. 46). The Vindhya mountain is referred to as having been adorned with flowers (Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā, 1st, p. 31).

Vindhya Parvata

The Bodhisattvādana Kalpalatā (24th, p. 19) refers to the Kiṣkindhyā mountain which according to the epic tradition was included in the Dakṣiṇāpatha.

Kiskindhyā mountain

Aśoka's tree was brought from Gandhamādana by Ratnaka, keeper of the hermitage, and was planted at the bask of canopy where the Blessed One showed miracles (Divyāvadāna,

Gandhamādana

[1] See my "Geography of Early Buddhism', p. 64.

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p. 157). In this mountain there lived a brahmin named Raudrākṣa who was well acquainted with miracles (Ibid, p. 320). According to the Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā, this brahmin lived at the foot of the Gandhamādana mountain which was visited by Buddha (5th, pp. 31, 25). The Gandhamādana hill is also referred to in the Lalitavistara (p. 391).

Maināka Parvata

In Aśvaghoṣa's Saundarananda Kāvya there is a reference to the Mainākaparvata entering the river to check the course of the ocean (Ch. VII, v. 40). The same story is also alluded to in the Rāmāyaṇa which locates the Mainākaparvata in Daksināpatha.

Malayācala

Malayācala is referred to as a mountain where Jīmūtavāhana took shelter after giving up his sovereignty (Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā, 108th, p. 12). Epic tradition locates the Malaya mountain in the Dakṣināpatha.

Citrakūṭa

The Citrakūṭa hill is referred to in the Lalitavistara (p. 391).

Laṅkā

The island of Laṅkā is referred to in the Gaṇḍavyūha (N.B.L. p. 91). The "Laṅkāvatāra" contains an account of a visit paid by Śākya to the king of Laṅkā and of his preachings in that island. The Laṅkāvatāra text refers to the Malaya mountain of Laṅkā (N.B.L., p. 113).

Daṇḍakavana

Daṇḍakavana is referred to in the Lalitavistara (p. 316) where it is stated that for thousands of years in the once burnt forest of Daṇḍakavana, even grass did not grow. Epic tradition locates the Daṇḍaka forest in the Dakṣināpatha.

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PRĀCYA OR EASTERN COUNTRY

The Prācya country lay to the east of Puṇḍravardhana.

Vaṅga

The alphabet of the Vaṅga country is referred to in the Lalitavistara as having been mastered by the Bodhisattva (pp. 125-26).

Gauḍa

In the walled city of Gauḍa which had only one gate, Vīravatī, was the presiding deity (N.B.L., Svayambhū Purāṇa, p. 256). Pracaṇḍadeva, king of Gauḍa, having abdicated his throne in favour of his son Śaktideva devoted himself to the service of the goddess Vīravatī.

CHAPTER II

South India as a Centre of Pali Buddhism

In this paper South India has been used to denote the Deccan proper excluding Western India (Mahārāṣṭra and Aparānta). The expression, Pāli Buddhism, is employed to denote Theravāda, the tradition of Buddhism as preserved and developed by the Theriyas or Sthavīras.

For the beginning of the history of Buddhism in general and of Pāli Buddhism in particular, the earliest known authentic records are the Edicts of Aśoka. So far as South India proper goes, the find-places of Aśoka's Edicts are Maski in the district of Raichur, Palki-gunk Hill near Kopbal in the extreme south-west corner of Haiderabad, Siddāpur, Jatinga-Rāmeswar and Brahmagiri in the Chitaldrug district of Mysore, and Yerraguḍi in the Karnul district of the Madras Presidency. In each of these places has been

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discovered a copy of Aśoka's Minor Rock Edict standing out, as it does, as a notable example of *Dhammasāsana* or proclamation of the greatness of *Dhamma*, while in Yerraguḍi there has come to light a set of fourteen Rock Edicts in addition to a copy of the Minor Rock Inscription. The places above-named were presumably the localities near about Aśoka's official headquarters in South India. If Aśoka's *Dhamma* is not pure Buddhism, but a norm consisting of certain universal principles of duty and piety, it may be doubted if the copies of the Minor Rock Edict have any bearing on the spread of Buddhism, particularly of Pāli Buddhism, in the South. Having regard to the nature of the message contained in the Minor Rock Edict, it will be difficult to deny the historical bearing of the Edict on the point at issue. The message contained in it is evidently intended to urge all, high or low, to be earnest and active in their own cause by holding before them immediate prospects of heavenly life. The message is sought to be rendered all the more effective by giving an account of Āśōka's change in faith, as well as of what he had achieved by the strenuous effort he made in the cause of Buddhism. The places in South India that find mention in Aśoka's Rock Edicts II and XIII are Āndhra, Pārindra, Choḍa, Pāṇḍya, Satyaputra, Kēraḷaputra and Tāmraparṇi.[1] Of these, the first two places were situated within the empire of Aśoka, while the remaining places were independent. The extent of

[1] The name Tāmraparṇi is used in Pāli to denote the extreme south-western region of Southern India bounded in the north by the Tāmraparṇi river and the extreme north-western region of the Island of Ceylon.

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propaganda of the Dhamma made by Aśoka can be envisaged from what Aśoka himself says in these two records. It is particularly in the Rock Edict XIII that Aśoka points out that he was constantly in intercommunication with the inhabitants of these places through his emissaries who were employed as powerful agents for the propagation of his Dhamma. The Yerraguḍi copy of Aśoka's Minor Rock Edict fully testifies to the means employed in furthering the cause of the *Dhamma*, the means consisting in the beat of drums, the employment of Brāhman preachers, the elephant-riders and the chariot drivers, well-trained for the purpose. The Pāli tradition embodied in the Samantapāsādikā and the two chronicles of Ceylon, is unanimous as to the despatch of Buddhist missions by Aśoka to different places in India and to Ceylon. So far as South India proper is concerned, Aśoka is said to have sent missionaries named Mahādeva and Rakkhita to Mahīṣamaṇḍala or Mahinsakamaṇḍala (Mysore) and Vanavāsa or Vanavāsī (North Kanara) respectively, the former being the place in which as many as three copies of the Minor Rock Edict were set up. The latter, namely, Vanavāsī continued to be the centre of Buddhism as late as the 1st century B.C., during which King Duṭṭhagāmaṇī of Ceylon built and consecrated the great Thūpa in his capital, inviting many eminent thēras from different parts of both Ceylon and India, the great thēra Candagutta visiting Ceylon from Vanavāsī with 80,000 monks. (Mahāvaṃśa, Chap. XXIX, verses 41-43).

Pāli tradition contained in the Dīpavaṃsa, the Kathāvatthu Commentary, and the Mahāvaṃsa, preserves the names of some later schools of Buddhism, such as the Hemavatā, the Rājagiriyā, Siddhattakā,

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the Andhakā, the Pubbaseliyā, the Aparaseliyā and the Vājiriyā. The names of these schools go to indicate that they were local developments. At least three of these schools, namely, the Andhaka (Āndhra), the Pubbaseliya (Pūrvaśaila) and the Aparaseliya (Aparaśaila) arose and were established in South India, particularly in the Āndhra country. The reign of King Vāśiṣthiputra Śrī Pulamāvi saw the erection of the Mahācaitya at Amarāvati which became the centre of the Caityikas (Pāli Cetiyavādā), an offshoot of the Mahāsaṅghikas, while the reign of the Ikṣvākus (2nd or 3rd century A. D.) witnessed the erection of the Mahācaityas at Jaggayyapēṭa and the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, on the two banks of the river Kṛishṇā, both of them being situated near Haiderabad. Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, as borne out by many of the inscriptions, was principally the seat of the Aparaselīyas. If so, how can it be said that any of these three places was equally a centre of Theravāda or Pāli Buddhism ? The evidence, however, is not far to seek. Some of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions go to prove that there was a Mahāvihāra or great monastery near about the Mahācaitya of the locality built for the accommodation of Buddhist recluses, coming from different countries. ("Mahāvihāre Mahācetiyapādamule pabajitānaṃ nānādesasamanāgatānaṃ mahābhikkusamghasa parigahe.") The inscriptions do not keep us in the dark as to the countries from which the Śramaṇas used to come. The countries mentioned are Kāsmīra, Gāndhāra, Cīna, Cilāta, Tosali, Avarānta, Vaṅga, Vanavāsī, Yavana, Damila, Palūra (Dantapura), and Tambapaṇṇidīpa. Two at least of these places, namely, Vanavāsī and Damiḷa (Tamil country) are situated in South India. What is of real importance is that in

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this particular reference the Śramaṇas coming from the above-mentioned countries are said to have been those known as Theriyas or adherents of Theravāda (Theriyānaṃ).[1] The same inscriptions also go to show that there were other monasteries, one of which was built for the residence of the Bhikkhus from Ceylon (Sīhala). In two of the inscriptions we read that the monk Bhadanta Ānanda under whose supervision some of the new building operations connected with the Mahācaitya at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa were carried out, belonged to the school of the teachers of Ariyasaṃgha or Theravāda with whom the five Nikāyas, Dīgha, Majjhima, and the rest were the original and authoritative texts, Ānanda himself being a specialist in the study of the Majjhima Nikāya.

We have seen that the Andhaka (Āndhra)was one of the later powerful schools of Buddhism that developed in South India.[2] This school built up a commentatorial tradition of its own, which has been quoted by name and discussed by Buddhaghosa in his Atthasālinī.[3]

The three main centres of Pāli Buddhism in India (Jambudvīpa) mentioned in the Gandhavaṃsa (J. P.

1. Apart from other references brought forward by Mr. D. L. Barua (Ic, I, No. 1) there is another clear reference in Buddhaghosa's Commentary, Visuddhimagga, Vol. II, p. 711, to prove that the term *Theriya* in *Theriyānain* is used to mean no other than the adherents of Theravāda—"vibhajjavādi-seṭṭhānaṁ theriyānaṁ yasassinaṁ Mahāvihāravāsīnaṁ vaṁsajassa vibhāvino."

2. See Mrs. Rhys Davids' *Points of Controversy*, Prefatory Notes, XLII.

3. See 'A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics' by Mrs. Rhys Davids, Introductory Essay, xxii.

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T. S., 1886, pp. 66-67), are : (1) Kāñcipura, (2) Avantī and (3) Arimaddana. Of them, Kāñcipura is no other than the capital of the ancient kingdom of Cōḷa, and its modern name is Conjevaram. Buddaghosa in the *Nigamana* (colophon) to his *Manorathapuraui*, the commentary on the Aṅguttara-Nikāya, refers to Kāñcīpura and other places in South India as centres of Pāli study. Unfortunately, in this colophon he does not expressly mention the names of places other than Kāñcīpura (Kāñcīpurādiṣu mayā pubbe saddhim vasantēna). In the colophon, however, to his Papañcasūdanī, the commentary on the Majjhima Nikāya, Buddhaghosa tells us that he undertook to write this particular work at the instance of the venerable Buddhamitta[1] who had made this request to him when they lived together at Madhurasuttapaṭṭana, which cannot but be Madura, ancient Madhura, the Pāṇḍya capital. The name of the port as met with in the Siamese edition, is rather Mayūrasuttapaṭṭana than Madhura.

("Āyācito sumatinā therena Bhadanta Buddhamittena pubbe Mayūrasuttapaṭṭanaṃhi saddhiṃ vasantena paravādaviddhamsanassa Mājjhima Nikāya seṭṭhassevāhaṃ Papañcasūdanīmaṭṭhakathaṃ kātum āraddho.") Similarly in the colophon to his Manorathapūraṇī, Buddhaghosa says that he undertook to write this commentary at the instance of the venerable Jotipāla who made this request to him when they lived together in Kañcipura and other places. ("Āyācito Sumatinā therena Bhadanta-Jotipālena Kañcipurādīsu

1. Cf. *Gandhavamsa*, p. 68, which gives the name of Buddhamitta without mentioning the name of the place.

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mayā pubbe saddhiṃ vasantena").[1] Buddhagosa undertook to prepare also the *Sāratthapakāsini*, the commentary on the Saṃyutta Nikāya, in compliance with the request made to him by the same venerable Jotipāla (Saratthapakāsinī colophon ;" Etissā karanatthaṃ therena Bhadanta-Jotipālena·····jācamānena maṃ subhabhūtena yaṃ samadhigata").[2] Now, let us see if any additional information is available from other sources. The first direct source to which one may turn one's attention consists of colophons to different works of Buddhadatta, who was a native of Uragapura (modern Uraiyūr in the Trichinopoly District), the ancient capital of the Coḷas.

In all of these colophons, as is well known, Buddhadatta has been unusually eloquent in his patriotic description of the kingdom of Coḷa of which he was proud to be an inhabitant. He himself resided in a monastery built by one Viṣṇudāsa (Veṇhudāsa or Kṛishṇadāsa Kaṇhadāsa) in the village of Bhūtamaṅgala near the flourishing inland port of Kāverīpaṭṭana. ("Kāverī-paṭṭane ramme, nānārāmopasobhite, Kārite Kaṇhadāsena dassanīye manorame").[3]

Buddhadatta flourished during the reign of Accutavikanta or Accuṭavikkama of 'Kalamba' dynasty. According to the *Ganthipadavaṇṇanā* of the *Vinayavinicchaya*, Accuta was but the same epithet as the Narāyaṇa. "Accutassa Nārāyaṇassa viya vikkantaṃ

1. Cf. *Gandhavaṃsa*, p. 68 which gives an altogether different information. "Aṅguttaranikāyassa aṭṭhakathā gandho Bhaddantanāmattherena saha ājīvakena āyācitena Buddhaghosācariyena kato."

2. Cf. *Gandhavaṃsa*, p. 68.

3. Buddhadatta's *Manuals*, Pt. I, 1915 ; *Abhidhammavatara*, Introduction, p. xiii.

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etassāti Accutavikkanto" (Buddhadatta's *Manuals*, P.T.S., Pt. I, 1915, p. 140). The manuscripts of the *Vinayavinicchaya* give three spellings of Kalamba, namely, generally Kalamba, and exceptionally Kalambha and Kalabha (Buddhadatta's *Manuals*, Pt. I, 1915, p. 140). The reference is certainly not to a king of the later Kadamba dynasty but to a king of the earlier Kalabhra dynasty that established itself in the kingdom of Coḷa[1] when Buddhadatta wrote all his works in Kāverī at the instance of the venerable Sumati and venerable Budhasīha and the venerable Samghapāla. [2]

("Kalambhakulavaṃsa jāte Accutavikkamanāme Coḷarājini Coḷaraṭṭhaṃ samanusāsante ayaṃ vinicchayo mayā āraddho ceva samāpito cāti," Buddhadatta's *Manuals*, Pt. I, 1915, p. 140).

Buddhagosa refers to Kāñcipura without mentioning the name of the king who then held sway over the kingdom of Coḷa, but in the colophon to his *Samantapāsādikā*,[3] the commentary on the Vinayapiṭaka, he points out that he began to write and completed this work during the reign of the King Srinivāsa or Siripāla, while according to the *Culavamsa* (p. 17) Buddhaghosa visited Ceylon and

1. *Vide the Colas* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, p. 119.

2. Buddhadatta's *Manuals*, Pt. I, pp. 137-138, Pt. II, p. 229 and p. 303. Cf. Gandhavamsa, p. 69, according to which the Abhidhammāvatāra was written at the instance of Buddhadatta's disciple Sumati, the *Vinayaviniccaya*, and *Buddhavamsa* commentary at the instance of Buddhasīha, and the *Uttaravinicchaya* and the *Jinalaṅkāra* at the instance of Samghapāla.

3. "Pālayantassa sakalam Laṅkādīpam nirabbudam Yañño Sirinivāsassa Siripāla-yasassino samavīsati me kheme jayasamvacchare ayaṃ āraddhā ekavisam hi sampatte pariniṭṭhitā."

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produced the Visuddhimagga and other works during the reign of King Mahānāma. Apart from other evidences considered by me in my *Life and Work of Buddhaghosa* (Chap. V) there is one interesting reference which should not be lost sight of in determining the contemporaneity of Buddhadatta and Buddhaghosa. This reference is no other than the fact that both of them undertook to write certain works at the instance of one venerable Saṅghapāla, praised almost in the same terms by both these teachers.[1] From these references it is clear that in the time of Buddhadatta and Buddhaghoṣa there were at least three great centres of Pāli study, namely, (1) Kāñcipura, (2) Kāverīpaṭṭana and (3) Mayūrasuttapaṭṭana, or Madhurasuttapaṭṭana.

According to tradition, the great Buddhaghosa was a native of Magadha who afterwards became a celebrity of Kāñcīpura and Anurādhapura. The *Gandhavamsa* gives at first a list of ten Buddhist teachers all of whom were men of South India and wrote various works, and then speaks of twenty other Buddhist teachers of South India who produced Pāli books at Kāñcīpura. The ten teachers are Buddhadatta,

1. Buddhadatta's colophon to the Uttaravinicchaya, Buddhadatta's *Manuals*, Pt. II, p. 308.

"Khanti-soracca-sosilya-buddhi-saddhā-dayādayo
patiṭṭhitā guṇā yasmin ratanān' iva sāgare
vinayācārayuttena tena sakkacca sādaram
yācito Saṅghapālena therena thiracetasā."

Buddhaghosa's colophon to his *Visudhimagga*, Vol. II, 711-12.

"Bhadantasaṅghapālassa sucisallekhavuttino,
Vinayācārayuttassa yuttassa paṭipattiyam.
Khantisoraccamettādi-guṇabhūsitacetaso,—
ajjhesanaṃ gahetvā va karontena imaṃ mayā."

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Ānanda, Dhammapāla, two unnamed former teachers (Pubbācariya), Mahāvajirabuddhi, Cullavajirabuddhi, Dīpaṅkara, Culladhammapāla, and Kassapa (J.P.T.S. 1886, p. 66). In the extant text of the *Gandhavamsa* the names of the other twenty teachers cannot be traced.

According to the *Sāsanavaṁśa* (p. 33), Dhammapāla resided at Padaraṭittha also known as Bhadratittha (J. Gray, *Buddhaghosuppatti*, Introduction, p. 25) in the Tamil kingdom adjoining Sīhaladīpa or Ceylon, while in the colophon to the *Paramatthavinicchaya*, Dhammapāla is said to have been a native of Tambaraṭṭha which is no other than the kingdom of Tāmraparṇi or Tinnevelly in South India. He resided in the city of Tañjā in Tāmbaraṭṭha (Buddhadatta's *Manuals*, Pt. I, p. xiii, "Tambaraṭṭhe vasantena nagare Tañjanāmake.").

The list of Pāli works that stands against the name of each of the ten teachers is as follows :—(1) Buddhadatta, the author of *The Vinayavinicchaya, Utiaravinicchaya, Abhidhammāvatāra, Rupārūpavibhāga, Bnddhavamsa-atthakathā*, and *Jinālaṅkāra*;(2)Ānanda, the author of Mūlaṭikā to the Abhidhammaṭṭhakathā, (3) Dhammapāla who wrote *Nettipakaraṇatthakathā, Paramatthadipani*, a serial commentary on the Itivuttaka, Udāna, Cariyāpiṭaka, Thera-Therīgāthā, Vimānapetavatthu, Visuddhamagga-ṭīkā to the commentaries on the first four Nikayas, anuṭīkā to the Dhammaṭṭhakathā, ṭīkā to the Jātakaṭṭhākathā, ṭīkā to the Niruttipakaraṇaṭṭhakathā, ṭīkā to the Buddhavaṃsaaṭṭhakaṭhā, (4 & 5) to former teachers (*pubbācāriyā*) who wrote Niruttimañjuṣā and Mahāniruttisaṅkhepa, (6) Mahāvajirabuddhi who wrote Vinayagaṇṭhi (a glossary of the five vinaya books), (7) Cullavajira-

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buddhi, the name of whose work is not found, (8) Dīpaṅkara who wrote the ṭīkā to Rūpasiddhi and Sampapañcasatti, (9) Culladhammapāla who wrote the Saccasaṃkhepa and (10) Kassapa, the author of Mohavicchedanī and Vimativicchedanī.

The Gandhavaṃsa says that these teachers wrote mostly of their own accord (*attano matiyā*) [pp. 69-70, J.P.T. S., 1886].

The Talaing records give us a list of Buddhist teachers of South India, which includes Kaccāyaṅa, the author of the first Pāli grammar; Buddhavīra, the author of the Sutta-saṅgaha; Ñāṇagambhīra, the author of the Tathāgatuppatti; and Anuruddha, the author of the Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha (Buddhaghosuppatti, p. 26). With regard to Anuruddha and his works, Mrs. Rhys Davids in her preface to the *Compendium of Philosophy* observes, "*the Manual* (Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha) is ascribed to a teacher named Anuruddha. Of him nothing further is recorded, save that he was the author of at least two other works on philosophy (namely Paramatthavinicchaya and Nāmarūpapariccheda) the former of which (and possibly the other two also) was compiled at Kañcipur or Conjevaram on the Madras coast, a seat of learning associated at an earlier date with the name of Dhammapāla Ācariya, the Commentator."[1]

Anuruddha's Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha superseded as a "text book" the earlier compendium, saccasaṃkhepa (outlines of truth) ascribed in the Gandhavaṃsa to

1. According to the Burmese tradition, Anuruddha was a thera of Ceylon, and wrote the Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha at the Sinhalese vihāra founded by Somadevī, Queen of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇī (88-76 B.C.), which is, however, far from the truth.

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Culladhammapāla. The great importance enjoyed by Anuruddha's Manual may be indicated in the following words of Mrs. Rhys Davids: "The utility of the Abhidhammatthasangaha ranks very high among the world's historical documents. For probably eight centuries it has served as a primer of psychology and philosophy in Ceylon and Burma and a whole literature of exegesis has grown up around it, the latest additions to which are but of yesterday." South India continued to be the centre of Pāli Buddhism as late as the 12th century A.D., a date to which Anuruddha, the celebrated author of the Abhidhammattha is assigned. The Kalyāṇi stone inscriptions of King Dhammadazedi (1472-1492 A.D.) and the Sāsanavaṃsa of Paññāsāmī (A.D. 1861) give an account of Chapada who returned to Burma, his native place, during the reign of King Anawratha (10th century A.D.), taking with him to Arimaddana-nagara (city of Pagan) five Buddhist savants, well-versed in the Pāli lore, two of whom, namely, Ānandathera and Rāhulathera, were residents of Kāñcipura.[1] Thus it is clear that Pāli Buddhism flourished in South India even centuries after the time of Śaṅkara.

1. Sāsanavaṃsa, pp. 40, 65 foll.

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CHAPTER III

Geographical Data from the Mahāvaṁsa and Its Commentary

The Mahāvaṁsa, a Pāli chronicle of Ceylon, was written by Mahānāma in the fifth century A.D. It surely contains germs of historical truth, buried deep in a mass of absurd fables and marvellous tales. It is full of information of variegated nature but tact and caution are required to separate fact from fiction. The commentary on this Sinhalese chronicle called the Vaṁsatthapakāsinī was written by an unknown author, recently edited for the Government of Ceylon, by Dr. G. P. Malalasekera, and published by the Pāli Text Society of London. The text and the commentary contain many geographical data important in the history of Buddhism in India and Ceylon. They no doubt add much to our knowledge. In this note we have attempted to gather together geographical references from the text and the commentary with their proper identifications as far as possible. The geographical information has been noticed here under two sections : (1) India, and (2) Ceylon.

I

Siddhārtha gradually went to Rājagaha (modern Rājgir) for alms after having received ordination on the bank of the river Anomā.[1] He sat on the Paṇḍava[2]

[1] According to Cunningham Anomā is the river Aumi in the district of Gorakhpur but Carlleyle identifies this river with the Kudawa-nadī in the Basti district of Oudh.

[2] This mountain encircles Giribraja, ancient Rājagaha, modern Rājgir.

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mountain cave and was afterwards invited by the Magadhan king (Mv. Comm., p. 66). Buddha ate rice gruel given by Sujātā on the bank of the Nerañjarā river[1] (ibid., p. 66). On the full-moon day of Phussā, the inhabitants of Aṅga[2] and Magadha[3] performed the great sacrifice of Uruvelakassapa (ibid., p. 52). They set apart a day for the great sacrificial gift (ibid., p. 89). At the foot of the Bo-tree at Uruvelā in Magadha Buddha obtained supreme knowledge. Uruvelā (in ancient Buddha-gayā in Gayā District) means a big sandy embankment (ibid., p. 84).

Dakkhiṇagiri[4] was a country reached after encircling Rājagaha (ibid., p. 323). It was visited by Mahāmahinda thera. Vedisagiri was also visited by him who stayed at Vedisagiri-mahāvihāra[5] (ibid., p. 321). Jetavana has been described to have been laid out and reared by Prince Jeta (ibid., 102).

Pāṭaliputra[6] has been described as the chief city of the whole continent of India (Jambudīpa, Mv. Ch. XV). It was so called because it was full of Jambu trees (Mv. Comm., p. 331). It was ruled by Bindusāra, son of Chandragupta, belonging to the family of the

1 Nīlājāna; cf. Thūpavaṁsa, B. C. Law's edition, p. 83.

2 It comprises the modern districts of Bhāgalpur and Monghyr. Aṅga was a tract of land lying midway between the villages of Aṅga and Magadha.

3 It roughly corresponds to the modern Patna and Gayā districts of Bihar.

4 Dakkhiṇagiri Janapada (Vidisā), the capital of which was Ujjenī.

5 Abode of the mother of Mahinda (Samantapāsādikā, p. 70).

6 Capital of the Magadhan Kingdom in As'oka's time.

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Moriyas,[1] who were Kṣatriyas,[2] after the death of his father. Mahāvana vihāra[3] and Laṭṭhivana[4] are said to have been situated near Vesālī[5] and Rājagaha respectively (ibid., pp. 520 and 546).

Some princes made Kusāvatī [6] their resting place, some Rājagaha and some Mithilā[7] (ibid., p. 125).

Mention is made of eight principal capital cities including Benares (ibid., p. 67). At Sārnāth a group of five monks became the first disciples of the Buddha (ibid., p. 70). The descendants of Duppasaha ruled the city of Benares, besides 84,000 kings (ibid., p. 127).

The descendants of King Arindama governed the city of Ayujjha which is no other than Ayodhyā.[8]

The descedants of Ajitajina made Kapila city (Kapilavatthu) their capital (Mv. Comm., p. 127).

Mithilā, Rājagaha, and Campā[9] were governed by the descendants of Nāgadeva, Samuddadatta, and Mahinda respectively (ibid., pp. 128-129).

1 As to the origin of the Moriyas and their connection with the Maurya rulers of Magadha (*vide* B. C. Law, Some Ksatriya Tribes of Ancient India, pp. 211-213).

2 M. Comm., p. 180.

3 It was a monastery in Ancient Vajji country mentioned by Fā Hien in his travels.

4 About 2 miles north of Tapovana in the district of Gayā.

5 Modern Besarh in the Muzaffarpur district.

6 Identical with later Kus'īnārā.

7 Modern Tirhut in Bihar.

8 On the Sarajū river in the Fyzabad district of the United Provinces.

9 The actual site of Campā, ancient capital of Aṅga, is probably marked by the two villages, Campānagara and Campāpura, that still exit in Bhāgalpur.

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The commentator points out that Mithilā was also ruled by the descendants of Makhādeva (ibid., p. 129).

Sumitta was the king who had three sons by the daughter of the Madda king (Mahāvaṁsa, Chap. VIII). Madda country lay between the Rāvī and the Chenāb roughly identical with the country round the modern district of Sialkot.

The city of Kosambī[1] was ruled by the descendants of Baladatta (Mv. Comm., p. 128).

Takkasīlā,[2] Kusinārā,[3] and Indapatta[4] were ruled by the descendants of Divaṅkara, Tālissara, and Sivi respectively (ibid., pp. 128-129).

Ariṭṭhapura[5] and Hatthipura[6] had the descendants of Dhammagutta and Brahmadatta as their rulers (ibid., pp. 127-128).

According to the commentator, the inhabitants of Pāveya are known as Pāveyyakas[7] and those of Avanti[8] as Avantis (ibid., p. 159).

1 Modern Kosam in Allahabad on the Jumna, capital of the Vatsas.

2 Modern Taxila.

3 A town of the Mallas in modern Nepal.

4 Near modern Delhi.

5 In north Central Province, north of Habarana.

6 Built by a son of the king of Ceti on the spot where he saw a white royal elephant. Hatthipura may be taken to represent Hastināpura traditionally identified with an old town in Mawāna tahsil, 22 m. N.E. of Meerut (CAGI., p. 702).

7 cf. Thūpavaṁsa (B. C. Law), p. 33.

8 Avanti roughly corresponds to modern Malwa Nimar and adjoining parts of the Central Provinces. Ancient Avanti was divided into two parts, the northern part had its capital at Ujjain and the southern part called Avanti Dakkhiṇāpatha had its capital at Māhismatī.

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Amaravatī[1] is mentioned as the kingdom of King Sumedha who renounced the world (ibid., p. 120 ; cf. Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā, Vol. I, p. 83). According to the commentator the term Vaṅgā refers to the princes inhabitating the country of Vanga[2] (Vaṅgajanapada). Vaṅga has also been described as a country inhabited by the Vaṅgas themselves (ibid., p. 243—tesaṁ nivāso eko pi janapado rūḷhisaddena Vaṅgā ti vuccati ; cf. Dīpavaṃsa, p. 54). The commentator gives no information about the king of Rāḍha (ibid., p. 244).

The kingdom of Avanti was ruled by Prince Aśoka as a viceroy (ibid., p. 324). It has been noticed by the commentator that Ujjenī[3] was given to him by his father, Bindusāra (ibid., p. 198).

The Buddha went to the Himalayās, washed his body and finished ablution in the Anotatta lake.[4] He spent the whole day in meditation on the Manosilā mountain (ibid., p. 71 ; cf. Jātaka III, 379).

Arimaddana brought alms from Uttarakuru[5] and ate them in the evening at the Anotatta lake. The holy water of this lake was used during the coronation ceremony. It was besprinkled over the head of the prince (Mv. Comm., 306).

1 It is identical with the modern city of Amaraoti close to the rivers of Dharanikotta, a mile west of ancient Amarāvatī, on the Kṛṣṇā famous for its ruined stūpa. cf. Thūpavaṁsa, Ed. B. C. Law, PTS, p. 2.

2 It is identical with modern Eastern Bengal. It did not stand as a name for the entire province as it does now.

3 Now Ujjain in the Gwalior State, old capital of Avanti.

4 It was one of the seven lakes of the Himavantapadesa.

5 The Kuru country mentioned in the Ṛgveda is probably the Uttara Kuru of later times which is alluded to in the Pāli literature as a mythical region. A country north of Kāś'mīr mentioned in the Vedic and Paurāṇic literature.

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Close to the Chaddanta lake stood a tree which used to fulfil human wishes (ibid., p. 195). From this lake an elephant called Chaddanta brought its son (ibid., p. 442). Besides, there was another lake in the Himalayas known as Aravāla (ibid., p. 312).

There is a great monastery on the Kailāśa mountain (ibid., p. 598). Kukkuṭārāma[1] was a monastery visited by Thera Sonaka.

The commentator simply refers to the Aparantaka[2] or Western India where the Thera Mahārakkhita was sent (ibid., p. 312). Vijaya landed at the port of Suppāraka[3] (Mv. VI).

The Thera Majjhantika was sent to Kāśmīra and Gandhāra,[4] the Thera Mahādeva to Mahisamaṇḍala,[5] the Thera Rakkhita to Vanavāsa,[6] Dhammarakkhita to Aparantaka, Mahādhammarakkhita to Mahāraṭṭha,[7] Mahārakkhita to the country of the Yona,[8] Majjhima to the Himalaya country, and the two theras, Sona and Uttara, to the Suvaṇṇabhūmi[9] (Mv., XII).

1 A monastery at Pāṭaliputta.

2 It comprises modern Gujarat, Kathiawar and the sea-coast districts.

3 Or Surpāraka, modern Sopārā in the Thana district, north of Bombay.

4 Modern Peshawar and Rawalpindi districts.

5 Identical with Mandhāta island on the Narmadā. Ancient capital—Māhismatī, a district south of the Vindhyā.

6 Modern Vanavāsī in North Canara.

7 Modern Mahārāṣṭra.

8 The foreign settlements on the North-Western Frontier perhaps identical with Græco-Bactria.

9 Modern Pegu.

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From Alasanda [1] came the Thera Yonadhammarakkhita with thirty thousand bhikkhus. From the Vinjhā forest[2] mountains came the Thera Uttara with sixty thousand bhikkhus (Mv. XXIX). Eḷāra, a Damiḷa of noble descent, came from Coḷa[3] country and ruled righteously for many years (Mv. XXI). Madhurā (Mv. VII) was a city where the ministers of Vijaya sent gifts to king Paṇḍu to win his daughter for that king.

II

The Mahāvaṁsa commentary furnishes a good deal of information regarding cities, mountains, hills, islands, lakes, hermitages, shrines, etc., of Laṅkā.

Anurādhapura[4] was an ancient city of Ceylon, situated near the Kadamba river. On the bank of the river Gambhīra, the priest Upatissa built Upatissagāma to the north of Anurādhapura (Mv. Comm., p. 261). Anurādhapura was so called because (1) it was situated by two Anurādhas, and (2) it was built on the Anurādha Nakkhatta day (ibid., p. 293). It was nine yojanas in extent (ibid., p. 449). It was ruled for some time by the Damiḷas[5] (ibid., p. 616). It was also ruled by Iḷanāga for six years (ibid., p. 646) and by Yasalākatissa for seven years and eight months (ibid., p. 647).

1 Alexandria, the town founded by Alexander in the Paropanisadæi country.

2 Vinjhāṭavī, the Vindhyā mountain with its dense forest.

3 Ancient Choḷa country, the capital of which was Kāñcipuraṁ, modern Conjeeveram.

4 It was the ancient capital of Ceylon but is now in ruins; cf. Dīpavaṁsa, pp. 57-58.

5 Damiḷa, the Tamil country.

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Sirīsavatthu and Laṅkānagara[1] were two other cities (ibid., p, 259). Besides, there were other cities, e.g., Rohaṇa [2] ruled by Goṭhābhaya (ibid., p. 430), Girilaka (ibid., p. 479) which was greatly under the influence of the Damiḷas. Kalahanagara (Mv. X) known as the battle town lies to the south of Mineri tank (Maṇīhīrā) not far from the left bank of the Ambangaṅga. Tambapaṇṇidīpa[3] appeared like a decorated interior of a caitya (Mv. Comm., p. 550). Mention is made of another city called Mahāgāmaṇi where the king lived for four months after killing the Damiḷas on the bank of the Ganges (ibid., p. 476). Dvāramaṇḍala is mentioned in the Mahāvaṁsa (Ch. X). It is near the Cetiyapabbata mountain (Mihintale) east of Anurādhapura. Sīhapura was the city so called because it was inhabited by a sīha or lion (Mv. Comm., p. 250). There is a reference to Vaḍḍhamānapura (ibid., p. 353; cf. Dīpavaṃa, p. 82). The Pulindas are mentioned as a barbarous tribe dwelling in the country inland between Colombo, Kalutara, Galle and the mountains (Mahāvaṁsa, Geiger's tr., p. 60, f. n. 5). Ambatthala is mentioned in the Mahāvaṁsa (Ch. XIII). It is immediately below the Mihintale mountain in Ceylon.

There were several gardens in Ceylon, e.g., Mahātittha near Abhayapura (Mv. Comm., p. 349) and Mahā-Anoma (ibid., p. 353). During the reign of King Mahāsena the bhikkhus living at Jetavana were called Sāgalikas (ibid., p. 175). King Mahāsena had the Jeta-

1 It is also called Laṅkādīpa, modern Ceylon.

2 Cf. Thūpavaṁsa, B. C. Law's Ed., p. 56.

3 It is Ceylon which was meant in ancient times as Pārasamudra (*vide* Law, GEB, pp. 70-71).

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vana vihāra built in a garden called Jotivana (ibid., p. 681). There were forests in Ceylon, e.g., Nandanavana[1] and Mahāmeghavana.[2]

A stūpa was built at Rāmagāmaka on the banks of the Ganges (ibid., p. 565).

There was a lake called Abhayavāpī (ibid., p. 497; Mv. Ch. X) which was laid out by King Paṇḍukābhaya himself. It is the tank now called Basawak-kulam (Parker's Ancient Ceylon, pp. 360 foll.). Water was drawn by a wheel from it (Mv. Comm., p. 629).

There were a port in the country of Rohaṇa called Sakkharasobbha (Mv. Comm., p. 643), a big road from the river Kadamba to the Cetiya mountain (ibid., p. 635), and a tank called Kolambagamīka (ibid., p. 653). Dīghavāpī (Mv., p. 10), Tissavāpī (Mv., p. 160), Maṇihīra (Mv., p. 324), and Kālivāpī (Mv., p. 299) may be mentioned as the four important tanks. Dīghavāpī is probably the modern Kandiya-kaṭṭu tank in the eastern province of Ceylon. Tissavāpī is a tank near Mahāgāma. Manihīrā is the modern Minneriya, a tank near Polonnaruwa. Kālivāpī was built by King Dhātusena by banking up the river Kaḷu-oya or Goṇa nadī. There is a reference to Padumapokkharaṇī (Mv. Comm., p. 633).

There was a mountain named Anulatissa (Mv. Comm., p. 659). The Chāta mountain was on the south-western side of Anurādhapura and more than two yojanas in extent (ibid., p. 300). Udumbara was

1 Mv., p. 126. Nandanavana stretched between Mahāmeghavana and the southern wall of the city of Anurādhapura.

2 Mv. pp. 10 and 126. Mahāmeghavana stretched south of the capital city of Anurādhapura.

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also a mountain situated near a village very close to the Ganges (ibid., p. 287). The Kāsa mountain (Mv., Ch. X) is probably near the modern Kahagalagāma or the village of the Kaha mountain about eighteen miles south-east from Anurādhapura. Ariṭṭhapabbata (Mv., X) is identified with Riṭigala, North-Central Province, north of Habarna. Besides, there were other mountains, e.g., Malaya,[1] Abhayagiri,[2] Sīlakūṭa,[3] Cetiyapabbata,[4] and Missakapabbata.[5] The commentator refers to the Sumanakūṭa, a hill, resided by a king named Sumana (ibid., pp. 114-115).

There were caves, e.g., Cittapassa (Mv. Comm., 290), Mahindaguhā (ibid., p. 607).

There were villages, e.g., Kumbiyaṅgana in the country named Giri where a householder named Vasabha lived (ibid., p. 454).

There were Cetiyas, e.g., Aggipavisaka which was built on the relics of Tissa, Abhaya, and Uttara who were burnt to death (ibid., p. 612). The great caitya of Mahiyaṅgana[6] was built on the banks of the Ganges (ibid., p. 72). Besides, there were other cetiyas, e.g.,

1 Malaya (Mv., p. 69) is the central mountain region in the interior of Ceylon.

2 Mv., p. 275. Abhayagiri is outside the north gate of the ruined city of Anurādhapura.

3 Mv., p. 102. Sīlakūṭa is the northern peak of the Mihintale mountain.

4 Mv., p. 130. Cetiyapabbata is the later name of the Missaka mountain.

5 Missakapabbata (Mv., p. 102) is the modern Mihintale mountain east of Anurādhapura.

6 According to tradition, Bintenne Dagoba on the right bank of the Mahawæligangā which is called Mahāgangā or simply Gaṅgā.

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Ākāsa[1] Cetiya (Mv., p. 172), Paṭhama[2] Cetiya (Mv., p. 107), etc.

Among the rivers of Ceylon, mention may be made of Gaṅgā (Mv. Comm., p. 92), Kadamba[3] (ibid., p. 261), Gambhīra[4] (ibid., p. 261), Karinda,[5] Goṇaka,[6] Mahāgaṅgā,[7] Kalyāṇī,[8] and Mahātitthā.[9] Goṭhasamudda (Mv., Ch. XXII) is the designation of a sea near Ceylon.

Giridīpa where Buddha brought the Yakkhas from Ceylon (ibid., p. 50) has been described as a beautiful island extending over an area of one thousand yojanas (ibid., p. 80).

The commentary supplies a long list of vihāras, some of which may be mentioned here. There was a vihāra named Cittala where Saṅgharakkhita thera lived ; another vihāra by the name of Mallināga was the home of Mahānāga (Mv. Comm., p. 552). Abhayagallaka was also a vihāra (ibid., p. 625). In the country

1. Situated on the summit of a rock not very far from the Cittalapabbata monastery.

2. Situated outside the eastern gate of the city of Anurādhapura.

3. It is identical with modern Malwatte-oya which flows by the ruins of Anurādhapura. Cf. Dīpavaṁsa, p. 82.

4. It flows 7 or 8 miles north of Anurādhapura.

5. It is modern Karinda-oya in the southern province of Ceylon which is located in the Pañjali pabbata. Mv., p. 258.

6. It is the modern Kaḷu-oya river in Ceylon. Mv., Ch. XXXV.

7. Identical with modern Mahawæligaṅgā river in Ceylon, Mv., p. 82.

8. Modern Kaleniganga ; cf. Jātaka, II, 128.

9. Identical with modern Mantola opposite the island of Mannar.

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of Rohaṇa there were vihāras named Valliyera (ibid., p. 652) and Mahāgāmanāga (p. 662). Goṭapabbata vihāra was built on the mountain called Goṭapāsāṇa. Two other vihāras by the name of Sejalaka and Cānavela were also built (ibid., p. 657). Besides, there were many vihāras, e.g., Rāmaka vihāra, Maricavaṭṭi (ibid., 499), Dvāramaṇḍala, Acchagirivihāra (ibid., 424), Cittalapabbatavihāra,[1] Thūpārāma vihāra[2] (Mv., Ch. XXXVII), Tissamahāvihāra[3] (ibid., Chap. XX), Jetavana vihāra[4] (ibid., Chap. XXXVII), and Bodhimaṇḍa[5] vihāra (Mv., Ch. XXIX) which was once visited by the great thera Cittagutta with thirty thousand bhikkhus.

The Mahāvaṁsa and its commentary lead us to think of the following main divisions of the island of Ceylon: (1) Tambapaṇṇidīpa probably denoting north-western portion of Ceylon situated just opposite the southernmost part of India comprising Paṇḍya and Tinnevelley districts with Tambapaṇṇinagara as its main city; (2) Laṅkādīpa situated below Tambapāṇṇidīpa with Amenādhapura on the river Kadamba as its main city; (3) Rohanajanapada in which Kājanagāma was situated; (4) Nāgadīpa probably the

1 It lies 15 miles north-east of the Tissamahārāma near Kaṭagāmuwa.

2 It was a vihāra in Anurādhapura.

3 It was located in south Ceylon, north-east of Hambantota.

4 It was situated near the Abhayagiri dagoba in Anurādhapura.

5 It was a monastery built near the Bodhimaṇḍa in Bodh Gayā.

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southern sea-coast of Ceylon with Kalyāṇidesa as one of its sub-divisions. Gīrīdīpa evidently represented some hill tracts inhabited by the Yakkhas. The Mahāvaṁsa introduces us to a prosperous Yakkha city and port called Sirīsavatthu which is also mentioned in the Valāhassa Jātaka. Samantakūṭa became an isolated Yakkha abode in Ceylon.

Readers are particularly requested to refer to a very useful map of Anurādhapura supplied by Geiger in his English translation of the Mahāvaṁsa published by the P. T. S., London.

CHAPTER IV

Damila & Damilarattha

Thanks to the labours of Kanakasabhai Pillai, Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Lorenzo, Barnett, Slater, Dubreuil, Dikshitar, Saletore and others, for their valuable investigations into the South Indian history. Here we have attempted for the first time to furnish an account of the Damiḷas as far as can be gathered from Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna Buddhist texts. The Damiḷas commonly known as the Tamils were a powerful South Indian tribe. The word 'Dravidian' comes from an ethnic name 'Draviḍa' or 'Dramiḍa' or 'Damiḷa'. The Damiḷas were a warlike people. They had two settlements on both sides of the Ganges as it is apparent from the Pāli chronicles. It is interesting to note that a Vinaya Commentary called

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Vimativinodanī was written by Kassapa Thera who was an inhabitant of the kingdom of Damiḷa.[1] The Damiḷas were disrespectful to the Buddhist thūpas.[2]

The island of Laṅkā was troubled very much by Damiḷas who became very turbulent. Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, a powerful king of Ceylon, fought with them,[3] killed[4] many of them and afterwards brought them under control.[5] He decided to drive them out of the island of Laṅkā. He marched with a mighty army against them and inflicted a crushing defeat upon them.[6] He conquered them once again on the other side of the Ganges and stayed for 4 months in the city called Mahāgāmāni.[7] Another powerful king of Ceylon, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya, after defeating 32 Damiḷa kings and having obtained coronation at Anurādhapura did not sleep for a month on account of great delight.[8] He who himself was a great warrior, accompanied by ten great heroes, fought with the Damiḷa king named Eḷāra and became victorious.[9] He again defeated the Damiḷas at Mahiyaṅgana where he built the golden cetiya and worshipped it.[10] He fought with them and captured a Damiḷa named Catta besides many other Damiḷas, e.g., Mahākoṭṭha, Gavara, Tāla, Bhanaka and Gāmaṇi. Many Damiḷas were also killed by Veḷusumanano.[11] Duṭṭhagāmaṇi became the undisputed ruler of Ceylon after defeating the thirty Damiḷa kings and freed the island from

1 Sāsanavamsa, 33. 2 Mahāvamsa Ṭīkā, p. 447.
3 Ibid, p. 24. 4 Ibid, p. 489.
5 Ibid., pp. 100, 437.
6 Cf. Thūpavamsa, *vide* my History of Pāli Literature, p. 577.
7 Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā, p. 476.
8 Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, p. 640. 9 Mahābodhivamsa, p. 133.
10 Thūpavaṃsa, p. 59. 11 4 Idid., p. 60.

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foreign domination.[1] King Kākavaṇṇa Tissa also fought with the Damiḷas at Mahiyaṅgana where he built a golden thūpa.[2] In order to put a check on the Damiḷas he kept guards at the fords of the Mahāgaṅgā[3] It so happened that once the Damiḷas escaped death by taking shelter in a city called Vijitanagara.[4] The Damiḷas had a fight with Veḷusumana but they were slain in large number.[5] A Damiḷa named Giriya was killed in a fight.[6] The Damiḷas then entered the city conquered by Tissa and fought with the frontier king of Koḷambāḷaka. King Paṇḍukābhaya promised to get back his lost kingdom by destroying the Damiḷas.[7] Anurādhapura was for sometime under the rule of some Damiḷas.[8] A Damiḷa named Pulahattha ruled this city for three years and appointed a Damiḷa named Bāhiya as his Commander.[9] A Damiḷa named Dāṭhika was killed and lost his sovereignty at Anurādhapura.[10] Having conquered Suratissa, the two Damiḷas, Sena and Gutta, ruled the island of Laṅkā for 22 years.[11] Abhaya, son of Siddhātissa, killed a Damiḷa named Sāṭhika.[12] The island of Laṅkā was ruled by five Damiḷa kings for 14 years and 7 months, Vaṭṭhagāmaṇi after killing Damiḷa Dāṭhika[13] and Damiḷa Paṇḍu, after killing Mittasena.[14] We further notice that two Damiḷas

1 Ibid., p. 63.
2 Ibid., p. 58.
3 Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā, p. 448.
4 Ibid., p. 475.
5 Ibid., p. 475.
6 Ibid., p. 479.
7 Ibid., p. 614.
8 Ibid., p. 616.
9 Mahāvaṃsa Commentary, p. 617.
10 Mahāvaṃsa, Chapter XXXIII.
11 Dīpavaṃsa, p. 99.
12 Ibid., p. 91.
13 Ibid., p. 103.
14 Cūḷavaṃsa, p. 22.

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named Pithiya and Rājamittaka were killed in a fight.[1] The Damiḷas were again killed by Māna.[2] They were defeated and slain by Kulasekhara.[3] The stronghold, Semponmāri, was conquered after defeating the Damiḷas.[4] A Damiḷa general named Āriyacakkavattī was a dignitary of great power. He laid waste the kingdom of Ceylon, entered the proud stronghold, the town of Subhagiri, seized all the sacred treasures including the sacred tooth-relic and returned with them to Paṇḍu kingdom.[5]

Anulā who was enamoured of Damiḷa Vaṭuka killed Siva with poison and gave the reign to Vaṭuka who made Anulā his queen. Anulā afterwards killed Vaṭuka when she fell in love with a woodcutter named Tissa. She again fell in love with a Damiḷa named Niliya, killed the woodcutter and gave the sovereignty to Niliya who was also killed by her.[6]

A careful study of the Buddhist texts shows that the Damiḷās were a fighting people always engaged in constant strifes with the Ceylonese. They are described as anāriyā or uncultured. 'Might is right' was their policy which they rigidly followed with the result that they were defeated and mercilessly massacred in almost all their battles with the Sinhalese as we read in the Mahāvaṃsa Commentary[7] that the Damiḷas were killed in so large a number that the water of a tank became red on account of a profuse flow of Damiḷa blood. They are said to have used

1 Ibid., pp. 24, 61.
2 Ibid., p. 71.
3 Ibid., p. 78.
4 Ibid., p. 85.
5 Ibid., p. 204.
6 Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā, p. 626.
7 p. 482.

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red-hot iron balls and molten pitch against their enemies.[1]

The literary tradition of Ceylon does not clearly say as to who these Damiḷa invaders were or from which part of India they came over to Ceylon. It is only in connection with a particular Damiḷa General, we are told, that he returned with all booties to the Paṇḍu country, the land of the Pāṇḍyas in the south. If anything substantial can really be built on this meagre fact, it would be that the Damiḷas who made excursions into the island of Laṅkā from time to time belonged to Paṇḍya which occupied the southernmost part of India opposite to Ceylon. The said tradition keeps us entirely in the dark as to whether those Damiḷas were sent with expeditions by the king of Paṇḍu or they were a race of marauders who undertook those expeditions on their own initiative. The commentaries of Buddhaghosa distinguish the Damiḷas from the Yavanas and Kirātas on one hand and from the Andhras on the other. The relation between the Damiḷa country and Ceylon was not always inimical. The account of Vijaya distinctly brings out that there existed a matrimonial alliance between the ruler of Laṅkā and that of Pāṇḍya. It is also mentioned that there was a very early settlement in Ceylon of skilled craftsmen and families of the eighteen guilds all from Pāṇḍya.[2] There existed similarly a close cultural relationship and constant intercourse between South India and Ceylon; the notable centres of Buddhist learning mentioned in Pāli works being Kāveripaṭṭana, Madhurā and Kāñcipura.

1 Mahāvaṃsa Tīkā, p. 477. 2 Mahāvaṃsa, Chap. 7.

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CHAPTER V

MOUNTAINS AND RIVERS OF INDIA

(From Epic and Paurāṇic Sources)

The two Epics and the Purāṇas have long been recognised as a rich mine of geographical information about ancient India. They contain a number of chapters giving a fairly accurate account of not only the different territorial divisions of India, but also of her rivers, mountains, forests, lakes, deserts, towns, countries and peoples. Such chapters are the *Tirtha-yātrā Digvijaya* sections of the Mahābhārata, the Jambukhaṇḍavinirmāṇa-parva of the same epic, and the Kiṣkindhyā-kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa. Equally important from this point of view are the Bhuvanakoṣa, the Jambudvīpa-varṇanā and the Kūrma-vibhāga sections of the Purāṇas, as well as of the Bṛhatsaṁhitā, the Parāśara-tantra and the Atharvapariśiṣṭa. The geographical accounts in the different Purāṇas are more or less identical, and the account in one is not unoften rapeated word for word in another; in certain instances a larger account is summarised into a shorter one, *e.g.*, the Paurāṇic list of rivers differs in the different Purāṇas. The list in the Vāyu, Matsya and Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas is a long one, while that in the Viṣṇu is very short. The same list occurs in the Bhāgavata and Padma Purāṇas as well, but in them it does not follow any definite arrangement. The Paurāṇic lists of rivers, countries and peoples, etc., occur also in the Mahābhārata,

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sometimes in a more detailed form. The 'particulars of the country of Bharata' (as given in the Bhīṣma-parva (Ślokas 317-78) are almost the same as in the Purāṇas, and with additional information in certain instances. It is obvious that these lists are framed in pursuance of a traditional account handed down from earlier times, and that there is much mythical and fabulous element in them. But in spite of everything, it must be admitted that the accounts are substantially correct, and the fabulous element, as pointed out by Cunningham, 'is confined, as a rule, to outside lands, and their allusions to purely Indian topography are generally sober.'

Himavat and the rivers issuing out of it.

The pivot of the Paurāṇic account of rivers of Bhāratavarṣa is certainly the mountain system of the country for the rivers are invariably grouped in the Purāṇas as well as the Mahābhārata according to the mountain ranges out of which they rise. Of the mountains, the Himavat or Himādri is the only *varsa-paravata* which is placed within the geographical limit of Bhāratavarṣa.[1]

According to ancient geographers, the name Himavat was applied to the entire mountain range that stretches from the Sulaiman along the west of the Punjab and whole of the northern boundary of India to the Assam and Arakan hill ranges in the east including a number of peaks and smaller mountain ranges. The author of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa evi-

1 For the place and position of the Himavat among the Varsa-parvatas and the mountain-system of the Purāṇas, see Raychaudhuri, Studies in Indian Antiquities, pp. 94-101.

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dently knew the Himavat to have stretched from sea to sea like the 'string of a bow' (Kāmukasya yathā guṇaḥ).[1] The statement in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa is supported by the Mahābhārata and Kumārasambhava.[2]

The Viṣṇu Purāṇa also seems to suggest the same when it says that Bhāratavarṣa is the country and lies south of the Himādri and north of the ocean (II. 3, 1-2). Ptolemy also seems to agree with the Epic and Paurāṇic description when he says that the Imaós (*i.e.* the Himavat) is the source of the Ganges and the Indus as well as of the Koa and the Swat river which rise from the hills to the west of the modern North-West Frontier Province.[3]

According to the Matsya Purāṇa, the Kailās range formed a part of the Himavat (121, 2), though according to the Mārkaṇḍeya it was a separate mountain. Dr. Raychaudhuri correctly observes : "There is reason to believe that some of the so-called *varsa-parvatas* were in fact parts of the Himalayan chain." (Studies in Indian Antiquities, p. 100). He points

1 Kailāso Himavāṁs'caiva dakṣiṇena mahācalau ।
Pūrvvapas'cāyatāvetāvarṇavāntarvyavasthitau ॥
(Mārk. P., 54, 24.)
etattu Bhāratam varsam catuhsaṁsthānasaṁsthitam
dakṣiṇāparato hyasya pūrvvena ca mahodadhih ।
Himavānuttareṇāsya Kārmmukasya yathā guṇah ॥
(Mārk. P., 57, 59.)

2 Avagāḍhā hyubhayatah samudrau pūrvva-pas'cimau (Mbh., VI. 6, 3)
Astyuttarasyām dis'i devatātmā
Himālayo nāma nagādhirājah ।
Pūrvvāparau toyanidhī vagāhya
Sthitah prithivyā iva mānadaṇḍah ॥ (Kumār., I. 1).

3 Ancient India. Ptolemy, S. N. Majumdar's Edn., p. 81.

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out that according to Alberuni, Meru and Niśada, described as *varṣaparvatas* in the Purāṇas, were connected with the Himalayan chain.

According to the Purāṇas, the rivers issuing from the Himavat are the Gaṅgā, Sarasvatī, Sindhu, Candrabhāgā, Yamunā, Satadru, Vitastā, Irāvatī, Kuhu, Gomatī, Dhūtapāpā, Bāhudā, Dṛśadvatī, Vipāśā, Devikā, Raṅkṣu, Niścīrā, Gaṇḍakī and Kauśikī.[1]

Gangā.

The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa has a separate chapter on the descent of the Ganges which is said to have issued from the foot of Nārāyaṇa, and followed her course on to Mount Meru; then she bifurcated herself in four streams flowing east, south, west and north, the southern of which was allowed by Śiva, through the entreaties and intercession of King Bharata, to flow through India.[2]

The fabulous element in the description given in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa is only too obvious to need comment; at the same time it is evident that when the Paurāṇic author describes the 'second stream called Alakanandā flowing southwards and overflowing the Mānasa lake with a great force,' he is simply speaking of the upper course of the river when she is still on the lap of the mighty Himavat. So also when we are told that the river 'entered the southern

1 Gaṅgā Sarasvatī Sindhus' Chandrabhāgā tathāparā ‖
Yamunā ca Satadrus'ca Vitasterāvatī Kuhuḥ |
Gomatī Dhūtapāpā ca Bāhudā sa Dṛs'advatī ‖
Vipās'ā Devikā Raṅkṣur Nis'cīrā Gaṇḍakī tathā |
Kaus'ikī cāpagā vipra Himavatpādanihsṛtāḥ ‖
(Mārk. P., 57, 16-18.)

2 Mārk. P., 56, 1-12.

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ocean in seven streams, and in three streams on the east, inundating as a great river the south with the overflow from her stream,' we seem to read of the different tributaries of the great river and her lower streams of the south-east before she reaches the eastern seas.

The Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇas give almost the same description as the Mārkaṇḍeya of the descent of the Ganges, while the Viṣṇu, Bhāgavata and Padma Purāṇas as well as the Mahābhārata agree substantially, though their account is rather brief. The account given in the Vāyu Purāṇa is interesting.[1]

It is somewhat curious that the Gaṅgā is everywhere in the Mahābhārata as well as in the Purāṇas, qualified invariably as tripathagā or flowing in three directions, though the actual description is that, after 'issuing from the foot of Viṣṇu and washing the lunar

1 "The capital of Brahmā is enclosed by the river Ganges, which, issuing from the foot of Visṇu, and washing the lunar orb, falls, here, from the skies, and after encircling the city, divides into four mighty rivers, flowing in opposite directions. These rivers are the Sītā, the Alakanandā, the Cakṣu, and the Bhadrā. The first, falling upon the tops of the inferior mountains, on the east side of the Meru, flows over their crests, and passes through the country of Bhadrās'va, to the ocean. The Alakanandā flows south, to the country of Bhārata, and dividing into seven rivers on the way, falls into the sea. The Caksu falls into the sea, after traversing all the western mountains, and passing through the country of Ketumāla. And the Bhadrā washes the country of the Uttarakurus, and empties itself into the northern ocean. (Wilson's trans., Bk. II, Chap. II, pp. 119-20.) Wilson points out that Bhāskarāchārya, an author of the eleventh century, gives almost exactly the same purport of the story. Evidently he draws his account from the Purāṇas.

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orb, she divided herself into four mighty rivers' and flowed in four directions. Later also, in India, she is described as a river that flowed in seven streams.[1] It is only in her lower course that she is said to have entered the ocean 'in three streams on the east' (*cf.* the Mārk. P.). Is it then to be surmised that her description as tripathagā refers to these three streams?[2] Which, again, are these three streams? Can they be said to be identical with the Bhāgīrathī, the Brahmaputra and the Meghnā, the three courses which mingle together before they enter the sea?

Sarasvatī.

The river still survives and flows between the Jumna and the Sutlej. It must have been at one time a mighty river,[3] but gradually she lost herself in the desert at a place known as Vinasana, the traditional western extremity of Āryāvarta and Madhyadeśa. (Vaśiṣṭha, 1, 8; Baudh, 1, 1, 2, 9, etc.). It is a tributary of the Indus, and rises from the hills of Sirmur in the Himalayan range. In the Ṛgvedic period it was a mighty river, and flowed into the sea (Max Müller, Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā, p. 46). "It disappears for a time in the sand near the village of Chalaur and reappears at Bhavānīpur. At Bālchhāppar it again disappears, but appears again at Bara Khera; at Urnai near Pehoa, it is joined by the Mārkaṇḍa and the united stream bearing still the name

1 *Cf.* the following Ṛgvedic hymn where the Sindu with its seven streams is also said to have followed a threefold course;

"Each set of seven (streams) has followed a threefold course. The Sindhu surpasses the other rivers in impetuosity" (X, 75).

2 Suttanipāta-Commentary.

3 J.A.S.B., 1886, Part II, p. 340.

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of Sarasvatī ultimately joins the Ghaggar or Gharghar which was evidently the lower part of the Sarasvatī (Punjab Gazetteer, Ambala Dt., Chap. I). .....The Mahābhārata also says that after disappearing, the river appears again at three places, namely, at Chamasodbheda, Śirobheda and Nāgodbheda (Vana P., 8)."[1] The Śalya Parva of the Mahābhārata seems to suggest that the name Sarasvatī was given to the seven rivers, Suprabhā, Kāñcanākṣī, Viśālā, Manoramā, Oghavātī, Sureṇu and Vimalodakā (Śalya, 39, 2188-2216).

Sindhu.

It is the river Indus. But according to Alberuni (India, I, p. 260), only her upper course, above the junction with the Chenab or Chandrabhāgā, was known as Sindhu; lower that point to Aror, she was known as Pañcanad, while from Aror to where she enters the sea it was known as Mihran. In the Behistun inscription of Darius the river is referred to as Hindu, and in Vendidad as Hendu. The Chinese designations of our country, T'ien-chu, Shen-tu, Sien-tou, Hien-tou, Yin-tu, etc., are all probably derived from Sindhu, though the Chinese themselves do not agree that the name was so derived.[2] In any case, the river gave her name to the country through which she flowed.[3] The upper course of the river along with her important

1. Dey, Geographical Dictionary, pp. 180-81.

2. For explanations of the Chinese designations of India, see Watters, Yuan Chwang, I, 131-40; also Bretschreider Mediæval Researches, II, 25.

3. As to her ancient course through Sind, see J.A.S.B., 1886, II, p. 323.

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tributaries gave to the country through which she flowed the name of 'the land of the five rivers' (pañcanad); from this mediæval name the modern Punjab derives her name. The lower course gave to the country around the name of Sind.

Candrabhāgā.

The passage in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa seems to suggest that there were two rivers of this name. The Mahābhārata also seems to support the same contention (Bhīṣma P., 9, 322-27). But it is difficult to identify the second stream of the same name. The river Bhīma, a branch of the Kṛṣṇā, is also known by the name Candrabhāgā but obviously that river is not meant.

The Candrabhāgā is the Chenab in the Punjab, and is the Ṛgvedic Aśiknī identical with the Greek Akesines. Sometimes, the united streams of the Jhelum and the Chenab are also known by the single name Candrabhāgā, the Sandabaga or Sandabal of Ptolemy.

Yamunā.

This famous river still bears its old name. It is mentioned as early as the Ṛgveda (X, 75) and the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII, 14, 4).

Satadru.

It is the modern Sutlej. "In ancient times this river probably did not join the Beas, as it does now, but pursued an independent course to the confines of Sindh" (Pargiter, Mārk. (P., p. 291, notes).[1] The united streams of the Sutlej and the Beas are known as the Ghaggar. The Śatadru is the Zaradros of Ptolemy, and the Hesydrus of Pliny.

1 For its early course, see, J.A.S.B., 1886, II, pp. 335 foll.

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Vitastā.

It is the modern Jhelum, but is still called Vitastā in Kāśmīr, and is identical with Greek Bidaspes or Hydaspes. It was known to the Ṛgvedic Aryans (X, 75) by the same name as well as to the Buddhists under the name of Vitaṁsā (Milindapañho, S.B.E., XXLIV).

Irāvatī.

It is the modern Rāvi, the Greek Hydraotisor Adris or Rhonadis.

Kuhū

It is mentioned in the Vāyu (XLV, 95) and Kūrma Purāṇas (XLVII, 27) as Kuhū. The river is probably identical with the Kubhā of the Ṛgveda (X., 75, 6) and the Kophes or Kophen of the Greek geographers, the modern Kabul river. It is also probably identical with the Koa of Ptolemy which is described to have its source in the Imaos or Himavat. (Ptolemy, VII, i. 26 ; Majumdar's edn., p. 81).

Gomatī.

It is almost certainly identical with Rgvedic Gomatī (R. V., X., 75, 6) which is probably the modern Gomal, a western tributary of the Indus. The Paurāṇic passage *Gomati Dhutapāpā ca*[1] has been interpreted as 'Gomatī and Dhūtapāpā,' thus signifying two rivers, of which the latter according to Cunningham was a tributary of the Gomatī. In the *Mahābhārata*, the two words are linked together (Bhīṣma, p. 9. 25), in which case, the passage should be interpreted as "the Gomatī, the cleanser of all sins." The Paurāṇic river has also been sought to be identified with the modern Goomti which joins the Ganges below Benares, and which is described in the Rāmāyaṇa as situated in Ayodhyā, and as being "crowded with

1 Märk. P., *op, cit.*, Vāyu, 45, 95 ; Kūrma, 47, 27 ; Varāha, 85.

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cattle" (Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa, 49). But as the Paurāṇic, passage as well as that of the Mahābhārata mentions the river along with those of the Punjab, it is almost certain that the tributary of the Indus is meant. The *Skanda Purāna* mentions another river of the same name (Avantī Khaṇḍa, Ch. 60); evidently it flowed through Gujrat with Dvārakā on its bank. According to the *Meghadūta* (I. v. 47) a river Gomatī seems to have formed a branch of the Cambal. If the Śiva Purāṇa is to be believed, the river Godāvarī near its source where the temple Tryamvaka was situated, is also known as Gomatī (I, Ch. 54).

Some have sought to identify the Dhūtapāpā as a separate river with the modern Dhopāp on the Goomti, 18 miles south-east of Sultanpur in Oudh. According to the Skanda Purāṇa (Kāśīkhaṇḍa, Uttara, Chap. 59), it was a tributary of the Ganges near Benares. (Dey, Dictionary, pp. 57 and 231.)

Bāhudā.[1]

Pargiter identifies the river with the modern Rāmagaṅgā which joins the Ganges on the left near Kanauj, and Nundolal Dey with the river 'Dhavalā now called Dhumela or Burha-Rāpti, a feeder of the Rapti in Oudh.' (Pargiter, Mārkaṇḍeya P., pp. 291-92; Dey, Dictionary, p. 16). Pargiter also points out that there was another river of this name in the Deccan (Mbh., Bhīṣma P., 9, 322; Anuśāsana P., 165, 7653; Rāmāyaṇa, Kish. K., 41, 13). The Mahābhārata gives an explanation of the origin of the name. Ṛṣi Likhita had his severed arm restored by bathing in this river, which was accordingly named

1 The Bāhudā is, perhaps, no other sacred river than what is called Bāhukā in the Majjhima Nikāya, I, pp. 36-40.

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Bāhudā (Mbh., Śānti P., 22 ; Harivaṁśa, 12). But the Śiva Purāṇa gives a different explanation, and says that Gaurī was turned into the river Bāhudā by the curse of her husband Prasenajit.

Dṛsadvatī.

The Dṛṣadvatī has been described as the southern and eastern boundary of what was then known as Brahmāvarta (II, 17), while the western boundary was the Sarasvatī. According to the Mahābhārata, the river seems to have formed one of the boundaries of Kurukṣetra (Vana P., 5074). The same source tells us that the confluence of the Dṛṣadvatī and the Kauśikī was of peculiar sanctity. The river has been identified with the modern Citrang, Chautang or Citang, which runs parallel to the Sarasvatī (Imp. Gaz. of India, p. 26; Rapson, Ancient India, p. 51). Elphinstone and Todd sought to identify it with the Ghagar flowing through Ambala and Sind but now lost in the desert sands of Rajputānā (J. A. S. B., VI, p. 181), while Cunningham found in it the river Rakshi that flows by the south-east of Thaneswar (Arch. Sur. Rep., XIV). According to the Vāmana Purāṇa, a branch of this river was known as Kauśikī (Vāmana, 34).

Vipāś'ā.

It is the Beas, identical with the Bipasis or Hypasis or Hyphasis of the Greeks, which is now a tributary of the Śatadru or Sutlej but was, in ancient times in all probability, an independent river. The story of the origin of the name Vipāśā is told in the Mahābhārata. Vaśiṣṭha, broken in heart owing to the death of his sons at the hands of Viśvāmitra, wanted to kill himself. He therefore tied himself hand and foot and threw himself into the river. But the strong current of the river unfastened

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him (Vi-pāśa) and saved him by throwing him on the banks.

Devikā.

Pargiter has sought to identify the river, since it is said to have issued from the Himalayas, with the river Deeg, a tributary of the river Rāvi (Mārk. P., p. 292, note). His identification seems to be upheld by the Vāmana Purāṇa (Chaps. 81, 84, 89) as well as the Matsya Purāṇa (Ch. 113). According to the Agni Purāṇa, it flowed through the Sauvīra country (Ch. 200), and had its source, according to the Kālikā Purāṇa (Ch. 23, 137-38) in the Maināka hills in the Sewalik range. The Viṣṇudharmottara (1., 167, 15) would have the river flowing through the Madra country, and the Skanda Purāṇa (Prabhāsa Kṣetra Māhātmya, 278) would have Mūlasthāna or Multan situated on its bank.

It has also been identified with the river Devā or Devikā in U. P., which is only another name for the southern course of the Sarayū, the northern course being known as Kālinadī (Bengal and Agra Guide and Gazetteer, 1841, II, pp. 120, 252, map). According to the Kālikā Purāṇa, it flowed between the Gomatī and the Sarayū, and was distinct from them (Ch. 23), while according to the Mahābhārata (Ādi. P. 29) and the Varāha Purāṇa (144), it was at the junction of the Gaṇḍak, the Devikā-Sarayū and the Gaṅgā that the struggle between the crocodile and the elephant took place.[1]

1 But the Anus'āsana Parva (S'lokas 7645 and 7647) of the Mahābhārata seems to suggest that the Devikā and the Sarayū were notthe one and the same river. See also Amarakosa, 1, 2, 3,35.

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Rankṣu.

Pargiter mentions another Devikā in the Deccan which, he says, is upheld by the Rāmāyaṇa (Kish. K., 41, 13). Pargiter suggests that the name is wrongly given in the Purāṇas; we should rather have it replaced by Vakṣu or Vaṅkṣu, and identify it with the Oxus. The reading is certainly doubtful, for the Vāyu Purāṇa (45, 96) as well as the Mahābhārata (Bhīṣma P., 9., 324) read it as Ikṣu. According to the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Ikṣu was one of the seven holy rivers that flowed through Śākadvīpa. According to the Kūrma Purāṇa, Ikṣu was an affluent of the Narmadā (II, 39).

Nis'cīrā.

The Varāha Purāṇa (85) reads the name as Niśvīra; other Paurāṇic readings are Niścitā, Nicitā (Viṣṇu P.), Nirvīrā (Vāyu, Matsya), Micitā or Nisṛtā (certain MSS. of Viṣṇu). In the Bhīṣma Parva list of rivers there are three similar names : Niścitā, Nicitā and Nīvārā, while the Vana Parva has Nirvīrā (84, 8116-9). It is, however, difficult to say if one and the same river is meant by all these names. Anyway, a river of some such name did really exists and was in all probability connected with the Kauśikī with which it is often mentioned. According to Nundolal Dey, Nis'cīrā is "the river Līlājan which joins the Mohanā near Gayā, and their united stream forms the Phalgu (Agni P., 116 ; Mārk. P., 57). It is the Nerañjarā of the Buddhists" (Dictionary, p. 141).

Gaṇḍakī.

It is the modern river Gāṇḍak that flows into the Ganges near Patna. The river is said to have been formed from the sweat of the cheeks of Viṣṇu who sat in penance at its source, and hence it was named Gaṇḍakī (Varāha P. 144).

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According to the same source it was also called Śālagrāmī and Nārāyaṇī.

Kaus'ikā (or Kaus'ikī).

It is the modern river Kuśi (Rāmāyaṇa, Ādi, 34; Varāha P., 140) which flows into the Ganges through the district of Purnea in Bihar (Dey's Geographical Dictionary, p. 97). The river seems to have largely shifted its course (Pargiter, Mārkaṇḍeya P., p. 292, note).

The Mārkaṇḍeya list of rivers issuing from the Himavat concludes thus: *Kauśiki cāpagā vipra Himavatpāda-nihsṛtāḥ* which has been translated by Pargiter as, "and Kauśikī are the rivers which flow from the slopes of Himavat, O Brahman." The passage may as Pargiter himself shows (Mārk. P., p. 292, notes), also be rendered as "Kauśikī and the Āpaga flow from the slopes of the Himavat, etc." The Kūrma Purāṇa reads *Kauśiki Lohini c'eti* ....instead, while the Vāyu and the Varāha (45., 96 and 85 respectively) read *Kauśiki Lohita c'eti*..... Still there are other Paurāṇic readings, *e. g.*, *Kauśiki ca tṛtiyā tu* which may mean the "third Kauśi kī" or refer to a river Tṛtīyā by name. Pargiter[1] himself suggests two more variant readiings, *e.g.*, *Kauśiki Karatoyā tu* and *Kauśiki ca Trisrotās tu.* Trisrotā in the modern Teestā which flows into the Brahmaputra, and Karatoyā is the river of that name flowing through the district of Bogra in Bengal. Lohinī and Lohita are evidently the same as the old Lauhitya which is but another name of the Brahmaputra. A river named Tṛtīyā is mentioned in the Sabhā Parva (9., 373) of the Mahābhārata. The three Kauśikīs

1. Pargiter, *op. cit.*

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are probably (*i*) the Kosi, (*ii*) the branch of the Dṛśadvatī in Kurukṣetra and (*iii*) the one referred to in the Vana Parva (221. 14231) of the Mahābhārata. As for Āpagā as a river, we have reference to it as flowing through Kurukṣetra in the Vanaparva (83, 6038-40) of the Mahābhārata (also see Cunningham's Arch. Sur. Rep., XIV., 88 and Plate XXVI).

The seven Kulācalas.

Besides the one Varṣa-parvata, there were in Bhāratavarṣa seven Kulācalas,[1] *viz.*, Mahendra, Malaya, Sahya, Śuktimat, Ṛkṣaparvata, Vindhya and Pāripātra. As each of these mountains was associated with one particular country or tribe (kula), they were called Kulācalas. "Thus Mahendra is the mountain *par excellence* of the Kaliṅgas, Malaya of the Pāṇḍyas, Sahya of the Aparāntas, Śuktimat of the people of Bhallāṭa, Ṛkṣa of the people of Māhiṣmatī, Vindhya of the Āṭavyās and other forest-folk of Central India, and Pāripātra or Pāriyātra of the Niṣādas."[2]

Rājaśekhara in his Kāvyamīmāṁsā places these seven Kulaparvatas in that region of Bhāratavarṣa which was known as Kumārī-dvīpa which refers to the Peninsular India with the Vindhya and the Pāripātra as its northern boundaries. Ptolemy evidently heard of some such traditional list of mountains when he enumerated the mountain

1. Mahendro Malayaḥ S'ahyaḥ Suktimān Ṛkṣaparvvatah
Vindhyas'ca Pāripātras'ca saptaivātra kulācalāḥ |
(Mārk. 57.10.)

2. Raychaudhuri, Studies in Indian Antiquities, pp. 105-106 and notes. For minor hills associated with Kulācalas, see *op. cit.*, 130 ff.

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ranges of India in the following manner: the Apokopa, Sardonyx, Ouindion, Bottigo, Adeisathron, Ouxenton, Oroudian, Bepyrrhos, Maiandros, Damassa or Dobassa and Semanthinos. Of these, Ouindion has been identified with the Vindhyas, Bettigo with Podigei, the Tamil name of Malaya, Ouxenton with the Ṛkṣavant, Adeisathron with the Sahyādri, and the Oroudian with the Vaidūrya which, however, is not enumerated as a *Kulācala.*[1]

It is interesting to note that Ptolemy also, like the Paurāṇic writers, groups the rivers of India according to the mountains out of which they rise. The position of the mountains, as he gives them, is owing to his erroneous views of the configuration of India, hopelessly incorrect but one can find some clue to their identification when he describes the rivers issuing from each mountain. The same method is followed also by Paurāṇic writers, and this helps us not a little to identify the seven *Kulācalas* and other mountains mentioned in the Purāṇas. In fact Ptolemy seems certainly to have come in possession of some old traditional list of Indian rivers and mountains, of countries and peoples which he made use of in his Geography and which was utilised later by Epic and Paurāṇic writers as well.

Most of the mountains have lost their ancient names, but the copious references to them in our old literature, apart from the Epics and Purāṇās as well

1 Ptolemy's Ancient India, Mazumder's edn., 75-81 and 204. Dr. Raychaudhuri seeks to idenify (*op cit.*, p. 105) Maiandros with Mahendra. This is a bit far-fetched, as the rivers issuing out of it are not the same as those issuing out of Mahendra.

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as in epigraphic and numismatic records have enabled scholars[1] to identify them successfully.

The Mahendra mountain and the rivers issuing from it.

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa (X, 79) seems to give a very accurate description of the situation of the Mahendra range.[2] From the Paurāṇic description it appears that the Mahendrādri was thus situated between the Gaṅgāsāgarasaṅgama and Sapta-Godāvarī. Part of the Eastern Ghats near Ganjam is still called Mahindra Malei or hill of Mahendra (Wilson, Viṣṇu P., II, 3, p. 127, n.). Pargiter thinks that the name should be limited to the hills between the Mahānadī, Godāvarī, and Wain-gaṅgā and may perhaps comprise only the portion of the Eastern Ghats north of the Godāvarī (Mārk. P., p. 305, note). Classical Sanskrit literature seems to agree with the description of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, and hence with the identification of Pargiter. The Raghuvaṁśa of Kālidāsa which refers to the hills more than once (IV, 39, 40, 43 ; VI, 54) seems to locate the range in the Kaliṅga country ; so also seems to be the indication of the Uttara Naiṣadha Carita (XII, 24). But according to the various passages of the Rāmāyaṇa, the name Mahendra seems to have been applied to the whole range of mountains extending from Ganjam to as far south as the Pāṇḍya country, to the whole of the Eastern Ghat range (Kiṣk., 67 ; Laṁkā K., 4, 92-24). There in the Tinnevelly

1 Foremost in this work have been Wilson, Pargiter, N. L. Dey, S. N. Majumdar, and H. C. Raychaudhuri.

2 Gayāṃ gatvā pitṛniṛtvā Gangā-sāgara-saṅgame
upaspṛśya Mahendrādrau Rāmaṁ dṛṣṭvābhivādya ca
Sapta Godāvarīṁ Veṇvāṁ Pampāṁ Bhīmarathīṁ tataḥ.

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district is a small mountain which is still called Mahendragiri (Tinnevelly District Gazetteer, I, p. 4). Pargiter thinks that the Mahendra hills of the Purāṇas and those of the Rāmāyaṇa were two different ranges but Dr. Raychaudhuri has argued with good reasons that the authors of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Purāṇas meant the same range of hills (Studies in Indian Antiquities, pp. 108-109). That the Mahendra hills extended as far south as Madura and joined the Malaya hills is also proved by the Caitanya-Caritāmṛta and the Harṣa Carita respectively (Harṣa-Caritam, VII). The Paurāṇic suggestion is also to the effect that it was situated in juxtaposition with Malaya and Sahya.

The Epics and Purāṇas speak of certain minor hills which may conveniently be associated with the Mahendra ranges.[1] Such are the Śrīparvata and the Puṣpagiri. According to the Agni Purāṇa, Śrīparvata seems to have been situated not far from Kāverī-saṅgama (CXIII, 3-4). The same text tells us that

1 Minor hills associated with the *Kulācalas* are thus described in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (57. 11-15) :

Teṣāṁ sahasras'as'cānye bhūdharā ye samīpagāḥ ||
Vistārocchrāyiṇo ramyā vipulās'cātra sānavaḥ |
Kolāhalah sa Vaibhrājo Mandaro Darddūrācalaḥ ||
Vātasvano Vaidyutas'ca Mainākaḥ Svarasastathā |
Tuṅgaprastho Nāgagirī Rocanaḥ Pāṇḍarācalaḥ ||
Puṣpo girirdurjjayanto Raivato'rbbuda eva ca |
Ṛṣyamūkaḥ saGomantaḥ Kūṭas'ailaḥ Kṛtasmarah ||
S'rīparvvatas'ca Koras'ca S'atas'o'nye ca parvvatāh |

In place of Vaibhrāja the Vāyu reads Vaihāra ; in place of Vātasvano the Vāyu reads Pātandhama ; Pargiter suggests Vaidūrya for Vaidyuta ; in place of Svarasa the Vāyu reads Sasurasa or Susarasa; in place of Pāṇḍara the Vāyu reads Pāṇḍura ; in place of Durjjayanta the Vāyu reads Ujjayanta ; in place of Kora the Vāyu reads Ketu or Kāru.

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this hill was dedicated by Viṣṇu to Śrī for her having performed some austerities there. It is the name of a lofty rock which overhangs the river Kṛṣṇā in the Kurnool District.[1] According to Dr. Raychaudhuri (*op. cit.*, p. 130) it lay eight miles to the north of Cuddapah. Other minor hills noticed by Dr. Raychaudhuri which were associated with the Mahendra ranges were the Venkaṭādri, the Aruṇācala (Skanda P., Aruṇācala Māhātmya, III, 59-61 ; IV, 9, 13, 21, 37) or Sonācala and the Ṛṣabha (Bhāgavata P., X, 79 ; Mbh., III, 85-21).[2]

The rivers issuing from the Mahendra ranges are the Pitṛsomā, Ṛṣikulyā, Ikṣukā, Tridivā, Lāṅgulinī and Vaṁśakarā.[3]

The Kūrma Purāṇa (XLVII, 36) does not, however, mention this group of rivers issuing from the Mahendra ; on the contrary, it speaks of Trisāmā, Ṛṣikā and Vaṁśadhāriṇī (evidently identical with Pitṛsomā, Ṛṣikulyā and Vaṁśakarā respectively) as rivers that issued from the Śuktimat ranges. Besides the above six, the Matsya Purāṇa (CXIII, 31) mentions three more, the Tāmraparṇī, Śaravā and Vimalā.

Pitṛsomā.

The variant readings are Trisāmā (Vāyu, XLV, 106 ; Bhāgavata, V. XIX, 17 ; Agni, CXVIII, 8), Triyāmā (Varāha, LXXXV), and Tribhāgā (Matsya, CXIII, 31). It cannot definitely be identified.

1 Pargiter, Mārk, P., p. 290, notes.

2 For identifications of these mountains, see Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*

3 Pitṛsomarṣikulyā ca Ikṣukā Tridivā ca yā ||
Lāṅgulinī Vaṁs'akarā Mahendraprabhavāḥ smṛtāḥ |
(Mārk. P., 57, 28-29.)

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Ṛṣikulyā.

The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Ṛtu-kulyā (XLV, 106), evidently incorrectly. The river still bears its old name, and flows past Ganjam.

Ikṣukā.

The Vāyu (XLV, 106) and Varāha Purāṇas (LXXXV) read Ikṣulā, while the Matsya reads Ikṣudā (CXIII, 31). It cannot definitely be identified, but obviously it must have been a river like the Pitṛsomā on the eastern coast.

Tridivā—A Tridivā is said to have issued from the Vindhyas in the Paurāṇic list.

Lāṅgulinī—It is the same river as the Lāṅgalī of Mahābhārata (Sabhā, IX, 374). The Varāhapurāṇa variants are Mūlinī or Lamūlinī (LXXXV), while the Matsya reads Mūlī (CXIII, 31); certainly they are copyist's mistakes, for the river still bears its old name and is definitely identifiable with the Lāṅgulīya on which stands Chicacole, between Vizianagram and Kalingapatam.

Vaṁśakarā—The Varāha Purāṇa reads Vaṁśavarā (LXXXV); but the correct name seems to be Vaṁśadharā which is given in the Vāyu Purāṇa (XLV, 106). It is evidently the modern Baṅsdharā, which flows past Kalingapatam.

The Malaya Range and the rivers issuing from it.

The Malaya hills are often mentioned in Sanskrit literature, but the word seems to have been derived from the Dravidian word 'mala' or 'malai' which means hill (Ind. Ant., 1889, 240 ff.). "From it are derived the designations of the country of Mo-lo-kū-t'a (Malakūṭa) referred to by Hiuen Tsang, and the language called Malayalam spoken by the people of Malabar." (Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 111). The

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Malaya range of hills is the same as the Tamil Podigei or Podigai, the Bettigo of Ptolemy. Pargiter correctly identifies it with "the portion of Western Ghats from the Nilgiris to Cape Comorin," for the sources of the rivers that are said to have issued from this range can all be located in this portion of the Ghats. Dr. Raychaudhuri has successfully shown that the Malaya *par excellence* is mountain of the Pāṇḍyas (*op. cit.*). According to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (X, 79), the hermitage of Agastya was situated on the summit of Malaya. The Malaya range is, therefore, sometimes referred to as Malayakūṭa. The mountain was also known as Śrīkhaṇḍādri or even as Candanādri (*cf.* Dhoyi's Pavanadūtam).

The minor hill associated with the Malaya range seems to have been the Dardura which Pargiter identifies with the Nilgiris or the Palni hills. The hill is associated with Cola and Pāṇḍya kings in the Mahābhārata (II, 52, 34.) The hill is also mentioned elsewhere in the epics. (Mbh.,XIII, 165, 32 ; Rām., Laṅkā K., 26, 42), as well as in the Raghuvaṁśa (IV, 51).

The rivers issuing from the Malaya range are the Kṛtamālā, Tāmraparṇī, Puṣpaja, and Sutpalāvatī or Utpalāvatī. [1]

Kṛtamālā.

The Kūrma Purāṇa (XLVII, 35) reads Ṛtumālā instead, while the Varāha (LXXXV) Satamālā and the Bhāgavata Katamālā (V, XIX, 17). It has been successfully identified with the modern Vaigai which flows past Madura (*cf.* Caitanya-Caritāmṛta, Ch. IX, p. 141).

[1] Kṛtamālā Tāmraparṇī Puṣpajā Sūtpalāvatī||
Malayādrisamudbhūtā nadya s'ītajalāstvimāḥ |
(Mārk. P., 57, 27-28.)

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Tāmraparṇī.

This river is evidently the one bearing the same name in the Raghuvaṁśa (IV, 49-50), and was a sacred river according to the Mahābhārata (Vana P., LXXXVIII, 8340). Evidently it flowed through the Pāṇḍya country and is to be identified with what is locally called Tāmbravari or with the combined stream of the latter and Chittar. It is also called Tāmravarṇā (Brah. P., 49). The port of Kolkai or Korkai was once situated on its mouth which was well known for its pearl-fishery (Raghu, *op. cit.*) ; Kolkai or Korkai is mentioned by Ptolemy.

Puṣpajā and Sutpalāvatī.

The variants of Puṣpajā are Puṣpajāti (Vāyu, XLV, 105) and Puṣpavatī (Kūrma, XLVII, 35) ; while the variant for Sutpalāvatī is Utpalāvatī (Mahābhārata, Bhīṣma P., IX, 342) which is undoubtedly the correct reading. Another variant is Utpalā (H. V., CLXVIII, 9510-2). Many Purāṇas give the reading as Utpalāvatī. "A river Puṣpa-veṇi is mentioned (Mbh., Bhīṣma P., IX, 342) which is joined with a river Utpalāvatī." (Pargiter, Mārk. P., p. 304, notes). The two rivers are probably the Puṣpajā and Sutpalāvatī. These two rivers must be any two of the Vaippar, the Amarāvatī, the Ponani and Peri or Vedamali, the four modern rivers, besides the Kṛtamālā and Tāmraparṇi, that rise from the Malaya mountains.

The Sahya Range and the rivers issuing from it.

The Sahya mountain or Sahyādri has been correctly identified with 'the northern portion of the Western Ghats and as it appears from the rivers which rise in them, it extends from the river Tapti down to the Nilgiris' (Pargiter, Mārk. P., p. 285, note). In his Raghuvaṁśam (IV., 52), Kālidāsa

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describes it as *'nitamba iva medinyāh'* and associates it with the people of Aparānta or Western India.

The most important minor mountain associated with the Sahya is certainly the Vaidūrya, mentioned in the Mahābhārata in connection with the two rivers the Payoṣṇī and the Narmmadā (III, 121, 16-19). The mountain is generally identified with the Oroudian mountain of Ptolemy which, according to him, was the source of the river of Maisolos, identifiable either with the Godāvarī or the Kṛṣṇā. The Vaidūrya thus included the northernmost part of the Western Ghats, but the evidence of the Mahābhārata suggests that it included also a portion of the Southern Vindhya and Satpura ranges. Another minor hill connected with the Sahya range is the Trikūṭa, referred to by Kālidāsa in his Raghuvaṁśa (IV, 59), evidently the mountain from which the Traikūṭakas derived their name. Ṛṣyamūka and Gomanta may also be associated with the Sahya mountains. Pargiter identifies the former, the scene of Rāma's meeting with Sugrīva and Hanumān, "with the range of hills which stretches from Ahmadnagar to beyond Naldrug and Kalyānī, dividing the Mañjirā and Bhīmā" (Mārk. P., p. 289, note). He identifies the Gomanta with the hills south or south-east of Nasik (*op. cit.*). But Dr. Raychaudhuri points out that to the north of Gomanta was Vanavāsī (H. V., Viṣṇu Parva, 39, 62-64), so that the hill should be placed in the Mysore region.

The rivers issuing from the Sahya mountains are the Godāvarī, Bhīma-ratha, Kṛṣṇa-veṇvā, another Veṇvā, Tuṅgabhadrā, Suprayoga, Vāhyā and the Kāverī.[1]

1. Godhāvarī Bhīmarathā Kṛṣṇaveṇvā tathāparā |
Tuṅgabhadrā Suprayogā Vāhyā Kāveryathāpagā ||
Sahya-pādaviniṣkrāntā ityetāh sariduttamāh |

Godāvarī. A river well known in the Rāmāyaṇa which has retained its old name up to now.

Bhīmarathā. The Vāyu (XLV, 104) and Varāha Purāṇas read Bhīmarathī, while the Kūrma, Bhīmarakṣī which is evidently incorrect. It is undoubtedly the modern Bhīmā, a tributary of the modern Kṛṣṇā.

Kṛṣṇaveṇvā. It is one of the very little known rivers of ancient India (see Pargiter, Mārk. P., p. 302, note). It survives in its modern name Kṛṣṇā.

Veṇvā or Veṇyā. The variant readings are Veṇa (Varāha, LXXXV), Veṇā or Varṇā (Kūrma, XLVII, 34), Vaini (Vāyu, XLV, 104), Vīṇā (Mbh., Bhīṣma P., IX, 328) and Veṇṇā (Bhāgavata P., V, XIX, 17). Pargiter suggests its identification with the river Penner between the Kṛṣnā and the Kāverī (Mark. P., p. 303, notes).

Tuṅgabhadrā. It is to be identified with the well-known river of that name, the famous tributary of the Kṛṣṇā.

Suprayogā. It is also mentioned in the Mahābhārata (Bhīṣma P., IX, 328; Vana P., CCXXI, 14232) and though not definitely identifiable, it is as good as certain that it was one of the western tributaries of the Kṛṣṇā.

Vāhyā. This also cannot be identified. The Agni Purāṇa, however, reads Vāradā which is to be identified with the Varada or Vedavatī, a southern tributary of the Kṛṣṇā.

The river still bears its own name, and is mentioned

(Mārk. P., 57, 26, 27). The reading for Sahya is Vindhya, but that is evidently by mistake. See Kūrma P., (XLVII, 34) and Vāyu P. (XLI, 104).

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in the Rāmāyaṇa (Kish. K., XLI, 21 and 25), the Harivaṁśa (XXVII, 1416-22) and the Mahābhārata (Bhīṣma P.,IX, 328 ; Vana P., LXXXV, 8164-5 ; CLXXXIX, 12910). The Tīrtha-yātrā sections of the Purāṇas and Epics invariably mention this river as very holy ; in fact it was more well-known than the Kṛṣṇā. It is *Khāberos* of Ptolemy which is said to have its source in the Adeisathron range. This range may, therefore, be identified with the southern portion of the Sahya.

Kāverī.

In place of *"Godāvarī Bhīmarathā Kṛṣṇaveṇvā tathāparā"* the Vāyu reads *"Godāvarī Bhimarathā Kṛṣṇaveṇvā ca Vañjulā"* (XLV, 104) ; while the Varāha (LXXXV) and Matsya Purāṇas (CXIII, 29) add this river after Kāverī. It is obviously to be identified with the Mañjirā, a southern tributary of the Godāvarī.

The S'uktimat range and the rivers issuing from it.

There is a good deal of difference of opinion with regard to the identification of the Śuktimat mountain. There is also a good deal of confusion about the rivers that are said to have issued from it, which, in fact, renders the identification really very difficult. Cunningham identified the range with the hills south of Sehoā and Kānker separating Chattisgarh from Bastar (Arch. Sur. Rep., XVII, pp. 24, 26, and map at end). Beglar places the Śuktimat in the north of the Hazaribagh district (Arch. Sur. Rep., VIII, pp. 124-125). Pargiter, after some discussion, identified the range with the Garo, Khasi and Tipperah hills (Mārk. P., pp. 285, 306 notes) ; while C. V. Vaidya located it in Western India and identified it with Kathiawad range (Epic. Ind., p. 276). R. C. Majumdar and H.

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K. Dev agreed to identify the Śuktimat with the Sulaiman range (Proc. of Second Oriental Conference, 1923, p. 609 ; *ibid*, p. ci ; Z. D. M. G., 1922, p. 281 n). Dr. Ray Chaudhuri applies the name with the chain of hills that extends from Sakti in Raigarh, C. P., to the Dalma hills in Manbhum drained by the Kumārī and perhaps even to the hills in the Santal Parganas washed by the affluents of the Bāblā.[1]

The rivers issuing from the Śuktimat are the Ṛṣikulyā, the Kumārī, the Mandagā, the Mandavāhinī, the Kṛpā and the Palāśinī.[2]

The Vāmana Purāṇa excludes this list altogether and replaces it by a new one in which figure some of the rivers known to have been issued from the Malaya (XIII, 32-33). The two new names, the Śunī and the Sudāmā, mentioned by the Vāmana are not identifiable, nor can we definitely identify the rivers mentioned in the Mārkaṇḍeya list, and for the matter of that in other Purāṇas. In the place of Ṛṣikulyā, the Vāyu reads Ṛṣikā (XLV, 70), the Varāha, Ṛṣikā (LXXXV) and the Matsya, Kāsikā (CXIII, 32). The Ṛṣikulyā has been often identified with Kiyul, a tributary of the Ganges (Beglar, *op. cit.*). Kumārī has also variant readings, namely, Sukumārī (XLV, 107), Lūsati (Varāha) but the Bhīṣma Parvan list of the Mahābhārata is the same as in the Mārkaṇḍeya. The Kumārī is sought to be identified with the Kaorhari (Beglar, *op. cit.*), the Someśvarī (Pargiter, *op. cit.*), the Kumar (in the extreme north-west : Dev and Majum-

1 Studies in Indian Antiquities, pp. 113-120, where there is an illuminting discussion on the various theories about the identification of S'uktimat.

2 Ṛṣikulyā Kumārī ca Mandagā Mandavāhinī ।
Kṛpā Palāsinī caiva S'uktimatprabhavāhsmṛtāḥ ॥
(Mārk. P., 29-30.)

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dar, *op. cit.*) and the Kumārī (in Manbhum : Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*). The variants of Mandagā and Mandavāhinī are Mandagāminī (Varāha, LXXV) and Gandhamanda-gāminī (Kūrma, XLVII, 36). This river as well as the Mandavāhinī cannot be identified, though some have suggested an obviously impossible equation with the Helmand (Dev and Majumdar, *op. cit.*). For Kṛpā, the Vāyu Purāṇa reads Kūpā (XLV, 107) and the Kūrma, Kṣiprā or Rūpā (XLVII, 36); some (for example, Dev and Majumdar, *op. cit.*), equate Kṛpā-kūpā with the Kubhā or Kabul river, others with Kapilī (Pargiter, *op. cit*), still others, with Kopā, a tributary of the Bāblā in eastern India (Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*). The Palāsinī has been sought to be identified with the river of the same name issuing from the Junāgaḍ hills (Vaidya, *op. cit.*), with the Panjshar in the extreme north-west (Dev and Majumdar, *op. cit.*), as well as with the Parās, a tributary of the Koel in Chota-Nagpur (Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*). Dr. Raychaudhuri's identification of the Suktimat with the hills of eastern India extending from C. P. to the Santhal Parganas seems nearest the mark and his equation of the Kṛpā-kūpā-kṣiprā, the Kumārī and the Palāsinī with the Kopā, Kumārī and Parās respectively, all in eastern India, must be considered interesting and satisfactory.

The Ṛkṣavat and the Vindhya Mountains and the rivers issuing from them.

The Ṛkṣavat and the Vindhya are Ouxenton and Ouïndon of Ptolemy, but it is not very easy to identify these two *Kulācalas* though it is generally recognised that the three *Kulācalas*, the Ṛkṣa, the Vindhya and the Pāripā(yā)tra are parts of the whole range of mountains now known by

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the common name Vindhya. This is due to the confusion of the different purāṇas as regards the sources of the rivers issuing from the Ṛkṣa and the Vindhya. An analysis of the lists of rivers issuing from these two mountains, as they are in the different purāṇas, will show that the rivers may conveniently be classified into two distinct groups, the Soṇa-Narmadā group and the Śiprā-Tāptī group. According to the Kūrma, Matsya, Brahmāṇḍa, Vāyu, and Vāmana Purāṇas, the Ṛkṣa is the source of the Sona-Narmmadā group including the Narmmadā, Śoṇa, Mahānada, Mandākinī, Daśārṇā, Tamasā, Vipāśā, Śuktimati, etc., while the Śiprā-Tāptī (Tāpī) group including the Śiprā, Payoṣṇī, Nirbindhpā, Venyā, Vaitaraṇī, etc., had its source in the Vindhya. This order is completely reversed in the Mārkaṇḍeya, Viṣṇu and Brahma Purāṇas which give the Vindhya as the source of the Śoṇa-Narmmadā group and the Ṛkṣa as that of the Śiprā-Tāptī group. The identification, if we have to depend on epic or Paurāṇic evidence alone, is thus almost a hopeless task.[1]

Ptolemy describes Ouxenton or the Ṛkṣavant as the source of the Toundis, the Dosaran and the Adamas, and the Ouïndon as that of the Namados and the Nanagouna. The Dosaran has long been identified with the Daśarṇā of the Purāṇas and the Namados

[1] "No conclusion regarding the relative position of Ṛkṣa and Vindhya can also be drawn from the constant association of the former with the Narmmadā and that of the latter with the Revā, for though the Bhāgavata and the Vāmana Purāṇas seem to distinguish between the two rivers, the Revākhaṇḍa regards them as one and the same, a fact borne out also by incidental references in the Bhāgavata itself." Raychaudhuri, Studies in Indian Antiquities, pp. 122-23.

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and Nanagouna with the Narmmadā and Tāptī respectively. Thus Narmmadā and Tāptī had their sources not in two different mountains, but in one and the same, namely, the Vindhya. The Daśārṇā, as we have seen, is said to have issued, according to a number of Purāṇas from the Ṛkṣa or Ouxenton according to Ptolemy. And what Ptolemy says (VII, 1, 39-41) about the mouth of the river seems to suggest that by the Ouxenton he meant the central region of the modern Vindya range north of the Narmmadā, while Ouindon stands for only that portion of the Vindhya from where rise the Narmmadā and the Tāptī, *i. e.* the eastern part of the modern Vindhyas south of the Narmmadā (*cf.* Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*).

Dr. Raychaudhuri cites a number of passages from the Epics, the Harivaṁśa, the Purāṇas and inscriptions to show that Ptolemy's indications are substantially correct (*ibid*, pp. 124-128). He concludes by saying that "ancient Hindu writers commonly regarded Vindhya and Ṛkṣa as interchangeable terms. But one fact is clear. While the name Vindhya was loosely applied to the whole chain of hills from Gujrāṭa to the Gayā district, lying on both sides of the Narmmadā, the Ṛkṣa, when referred to incidentally in literature, is invariably associated with the middle Narmmadā region of which Māhiṣmatī was the most important city, and the Daśārṇa, a notable river. The Vindhya, when distinguished from the Ṛkṣa, denotes the chain lying south of the Narmmadā as suggested by Nīlakaṇṭha (in his Commentary on the Harivaṁśa) ....." (*ibid*).

The rivers issuing from the Ṛkṣa and the Vindhya are the Śoṇa, Mahānada, Narmmadā, Surathā, Adrijā,

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Mandākinī, Daśārṇā, Citrakūṭa, Citrotpalā, Tamasā, Karamodā, Piśācikā, Pippalisroṇī, Vipāśā, Vañjulā, Sumerujā, Suktimatī, Sākulī, Tridivā, Vegavāhinī, Śiprā, Payoṣṇī, Nirbbindhya, Tāpī (Tāptī) Niśadhāvatī, Veṇvā, Vaitaraṇī, Sinīvāli, Kumudvatī, Karatoyā, Mahāgaurī, Durgā and Antaḥśirā.[1]

Śoṇa—It is the river Sone that has its source near the Narmmadā and drains itself into the Ganges. It was also known as Hiraṇyavāha or Hiraṇyabāhu, the Erannaboas of the Greek geographers.

Mahānada (Mahānadī)—It is probably not the same river that bears its old name and flows through Orissa but is a branch thereof that rises near the source of the Sone (see Pargiter, Mark. P., p. 295, note). In the Varāha Purāṇa, Mahānadī is replaced by the river named Jyotirathā (LXXXV), which is the same as the Jyotirathyā (Mbh., Vana, LXXXV, 8150) or the Jyotirathā (HV., CLXVIII, 9150-12), probably a southern tributary of the Sone.

Narmmadā—The Namados of Ptolemy, the modern Nerbudda, which rises near the sources of the Sone. According to the Matsya Purāṇa, the place where the

[1] S'oṇo Mahānadas'caiva Narmmadā Surathādrijā |
Mandākinī Das'ārṇā ca Citrakūṭā tathāparā ||
Citropalā as Tamasā Karamodā Pis'ācikā |
Tathānyā Pippalis'roṇirvipās'ā Vañjulā nadī ||
Sumerujā S'uktimatī S'akulī Tridivākramaḥ |
Ṛkṣapādā prasūtā vai tathānyā vegavāhinī ||
S'iprā Payoṣṇī Nirbbindhyā Tāpī saNiṣadhāvatī |
Veṇvā Vaitaraṇī caiva Sinīvālī Kumudvatī ||
Karatoyā Mahāgaurī Durgā cāntaḥsirā tathā |
Vindhyapāda-prasūtāstā nadyaḥ puṇyajalalāḥ s'ubhāḥ ||
(Mark. P., 57, 21-25.)

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Narmmadā falls to the sea is a great place of pilgrimage (Ch. 193) called the Jamadagnitīrtha.

Surathā and Adrijā—The variant for Surathā is Surasā (Kūrma, XLVII. 30; Varāha, LXXXV; Bhāgavata, V, XIX. 17); while Adrijā, the next river in the list, is replaced by Sumahādruma or Surahādruma (XLV, 99), obviously a confusion of the copyist. Adrijā is also mentioned in the Mahābhārata (Anuśāsanaparva, CLXV, 7648).

It is not improbable that the entire line "Soṇo Mahānadaścaiva Narmmadā Surathādrijā" is intended to be interpreted as Śoṇa, Mahānada, and Narmmadā which all originated from the Amarakaṇṭaka hills which in fact are the sources of the Śoṇa, the Narmmadā and ālso of the Mahānadī.

Mandākinī—It is undoubtedly the Modern Mandākin which flows into the Paisuni near Citrakūṭa mountain (Cunningham, Arch. Sur. Rep., XXI. 11).

Daśārṇā—It gave its name to the country through which it flowed, and is referred to by Kālidāsa in his Meghadūta. It is the modern Dhasan near Saugor flowing between the Betwa (Vetravati) and the Ken.

Citrakūṭa and Citrotpalā—Citrakūṭa is evidently a river connected with the modern Citrakūṭa mountain, but the Citrotpalā does not yield to any identification, though it is mentioned in the Bhīṣmaparva list of the Mahābhārata.

Tamasā—The river Tamasā is famous for its association with the Rāmāyaṇa. The Kūrma Purāṇa gives a variant,—Tāmasī (XLVII, 30). It is identifiable with the river Tons which flows into the Ganges below Allahabad.

Karamadā—The Vāyu (XLV, 100) and Varāha

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Purāṇas read Karatoyā instead. Any way, it seems probable, as Pargiter has suggested, that the river Karmanāsā which flows into the Ganges just above the Sone is here meant.

Piśācikā and Pippaliśroṇi—The Piśacikā is not identifiable though it is suggested that it may be one of the southern tributaries of the Sone. In the Pippaliśroṇi (Vāyu : Pipyalaśroṇi ; Varāha : Pippalā), Pargiter finds the Paisuni or Parsaroni, a tributary of the Jumna between the Ken and the Tons (*op. cit.*).

Vipāśā—It has to be distinguished from the river of the same name in the Punjab. It is the modern Bias that flows past Saugor into the Ken. In place of Vipāśā, the Varāha Purāṇa reads Viśālā which is to be identified with the Visālā that flows through Gayā (*cf.* Mbh., Salya. P., XXXIX, 2188-89, 2205-06).

Vañjulā—The variants are Vañjukā (Varāha, LXXXV), Mañjulā (Mbh., Bhīṣma P., IX, 341 ; Kūrma, XLII, 31) and Jambulā (Vāyu, XLV, 100). It cannot definitely be identified.

Sumerujā—The variant readings are Siterajā (Vāyu XLV, 101) and Virajā (Varāha, LXXXV). It cannot be identified.

Śuktimatī—It is often erroneously suggested that this river issued from the 'Śuktimat' mountain. In fact, its source is stated to be either the Ṛkṣavat or Vindhya. The Muktimatī of the Bhīṣmaparva list of the Mahābhārata is probably the same river. It is not unlikely that Śuktimatī, the capital of the Cedis, stood on this river. There is, however, hardly any clue to its definite identification.

Śakulī and Tridivā—The variants for Śakulī are Makruṇā or Makṣanā (Vāyu, XLV, 101) and Paṅkini

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(Varāha, LXXXV). Pargiter identifies the Śakulī with the river Sakri which flows into the Ganges between Patna and Monghyr. The Tridivā is mentioned also in the Bhīṣmaparva list, but it cannot successfully be identified.

Vegavāhinī—The Vāyu, Varāha and Kūrma Purāṇas read Vāluvāhinī or Ratnavāhinī (Kūrma, XLVII, 31). It cannot be identified.

Śiprā—A Śiprā is mentioned in the Paurāṇic list and it is said to have issued from the Pāripātra mountains (see below). According to the Harivaṁśa (CLXVIII, 9509) there is a Śiprā in the southern region ; it is not impossible that the southern Śiprā is here intended. The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Madra (XLV, 102), while both the Kūrma (XLVII, 32) and the Varāha (LXXXV)read Śighroda ; the Matsya reads Kṣiprā instead (CXIII, 27) and the Mahābhārata (Bhīṣma P., IX, 336) Śighrā. There is evidently some doubt as to the real name of the river here intended.

Payoṣṇī—The Varāha Purāṇa reads Payolli (LXXXV) which is wrong. According to Mahābhārata, it was a river flowing through Vidarbha (Vana P., CXX, 10289-90), and was separated from the Narmmadā by the Vaidūrya mountains (*ibid*, CXXI, 10306-7). Pargiter therefore identifies it with the modern river Pūrṇa (the tributary of the Tāptī) together with the lower part of the Tāptī into which the Pūrṇa continues (Mārk. P., p. 299, notes). But the Purāṇas would have Payoṣṇī and Tāptī distinctly as two separate rivers in the same verse ; the Padma Purāṇa (Uttara., Ch. 41) even has Tāpī, Payoṣṇī and Pūrṇa in the same verse. Some have, therefore, sought to identify

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the Payoṣṇī with the Pain or Paingaṅgā, a branch of the Wardha in C. P.

According to the Caitanyacaritāmṛta, there was another Payoṣṇī in the extreme south, identical with the river Pūrti in Travancore (Journal of the Buddhist Text Society, V, p. 45).

Nirbbindhyā—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Nirbbandhyā (XLV, 102) which is evidently wrong. This river is mentioned by Kālidāsa in his Meghadūta (I, 28-29) as lying between Ujjain and the river Betwā or Vetravatī. It has been identified with the Kalisindh in Malwa (J. of Buddhist Text Society, V, p. 46), but as Kalisindh is probably the Sindhu of Kālidāsa's Meghadūta, the identification of the Nirbbindhyā with the Newuj, another tributary of the Cambal between Vetravatī and Sindh, seems to be more satisfactory (Thorton's Gazetteer, S. V. Gwalior, Bhopal).

Tāpī—It is undoubtedly the Tāptī; but strangely enough the river is nowhere mentioned in the Epics, not even in the Bhīṣmaparva list of the Mahābhārata.

Niṣadhāvatī—The variants are Niṣadhā (Vāyu, XLV, 102) and Ṛṣabhā (Matsya, CXIII, 27); the latter apparently is a wrong reading. Naturally the river suggests an association with Niṣadha country and may be identified with one of the small tributaries of the Narmmadā or the Tāptī. The reading Mahānadī of the Kūrma Purāṇa (XLVII, 32) is impossible, for it has already been mentioned in connection with the Sone and the Narmmadā.

Veṇvā and Vaitaraṇī—The variants are Veṇvā, Vinnā, in the Purāṇas and Veṇvā and Veṇā in the Mahābhārata. Pargiter identifies it (Mārk. P., p. 300,

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note) with the Waingaṅgā and its continuation, the Prānhitā. The Vaitaraṇī is undoubtedly the modern river of the same name that flows through Orissa.

Sinīvālī, Kumudvatī, Karatoyā, Mahāgaurī, Durgā and Antaḥśirā—These rivers are not definitely identifiable. The variants for Sinīvālī are confusing and do not help us in any way to identify the river. They are Sītibāhu, Balākā, Vedipālā, Śatabalā and Viśvamālā in the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata; none of these names can be satisfactorily identified. Nor can we identify Kumudvatī or Karatoyā which is certainly not the river that flows through northern Bengal. Mahāgaurī has been identified by Pargiter (*op. cit.*, pp. 300-301, notes) with the Brāhmaṇī that flows through Orissa, and Durgā with another smaller Brāhmaṇī that flows through the Murshidabad district into the right bank of the Bhāgīrathī. But the latter identification seems to be doubtful. The Vāyu (XLV, 103) and Kūrma Purāṇas (XLVII, 33) replace Antaḥśirā by Antaḥśilā, and the Varāha by Antyāgirā (LXXXV). The river cannot however be identified. The Varāha Purāṇa gives one more river, the Maṇijālā Subhā, does not give any clue to its identification.

The Pāripātra (Pāriyātra) and the rivers issuing from it.

The earliest mention of the Pāriyātra mountain is found in Dharmasūtra of Bodhāyana (I, 1, 25) who refers to this mountain as the southern limit of Āryāvarta. The Skanda Purāṇa also refers to it as the farthest limit of Kumārī-Khaṇḍa, the centre of Bhāratavarṣa. The mountain seems to have lent its name to the country with which it was associated; Yuan Chwang mentions a Po-li-ye-ta-lo country

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(Pāriyātra) ruled by a Vaiśya king. Pargiter identifies the Pāripātra (or Pāriyātra) with that portion of the modern Vindhya range which is situated west of Bhopal together with the Aravalli mountains (Pargiter, Mārk P., *op. cit.*)

The rivers issuing from the Pāriyātra are the Vedasmṛti, Vedavatī, Vṛtraghnī, Sindhu, Veṇvā, Ānandinī, Sadānīrā, Mahī, Pārā, Carmaṇvatī, Nūpī, Vidiśā, Vetravatī, Śiprā and Avarṇī.[1]

Vedasmṛti, Vedavatī and Vetraghnī—These rivers cannot be identified. Vedasmṛti is replaced by Vedasmṛtā in some of the texts (Bhīṣma P., IX, 324) and Vedavatī and Vṛtraghnī by Vadasinī or Vetasinī and Vrataghnī respectively. But none of these names gives any clue to their identification.

Sindhu—It is certain that by Sindhu is here meant the Kalisindh, a tributary of the Jumna between the Cambal and Betwa. It was on its banks that Agastya met Lopāmudrā, daughter of the Vidarbha king and they became married (Mbh. Vana P., XCVI, XCVII ; CXXX, 10541).

Veṇvā—The Mārkaṇḍeya reading seems to be a wrong one, for the majority of the Purāṇas give different readings which are nearer the mark. Thus the Vāyu (XLV, 97) and Kūrma Purāṇas (XLVII. 29) read Varṇāśā, the Kūrma also Pūrṇa and Parṇāśā. Parṇāśā and Varṇāśā are evidently the same and have been identified with the river Banās, tributary of the Cambal.

Ānandinī—The various Paurāṇic readings are

1 Vedasmṛtir Vedavatī Vṛtraghnī Sindhureva ca
Veṇvā sānandinī caiva Sadānīrā Mahī tathā
Pārā Barmaṇvatī Nūpī Vidis'ā Vetravatyapi
S'iprā hyAvarṇī ca tathā Pāripātrās'rayāh smṛtāh
(Mārk. P., 57, 19-20.)

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Sānandinī, Candanā, Bandhanā and Sabandhanā, none of which can be identified.

Sadānīrā—According to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, the Sadānīrā formed the boundary between Kośala and Videha, though Sāyaṇā in his commentary wrongly identifies it with the Karatoyā. The Sadānīrā of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa has, therefore, been sought to be identified by some with the Gaṇḍak, by others with the Rāpti. But the Sadānīrā of our Paurāṇic passage cannot mean this river which is said to have issued from the Pāriyātra. The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Satirā and Sadātīrā instead (XLV, 97).

Mahī—The variants are Mahatī (Vāyu, XLV, 97), Mahita (Mbh., Bhīṣma P., IX, 328) and Rohi (Varāha, LXXXV). It is the river Mahī which rises in Malwa and drains itself into the Gulf of Cambay.

Pārā—The Vāyu reads Parā instead. Cunningham identifies it with the Pārvatī that rises in Bhopal and falls into the Cambal (Arch. Sur. Rep., II., 308).

Carmaṇvatī—It is the well-known river Cambal, the tributary of the Jumna.

Nūpī—The Kūrma Purāṇa reads Surā and Sūryā instead (XLVII, 29), but none of them can be identified.

Vidiśā—Vidiśā, as is well known, is modern Bhilsa, and the river of this name must be connected with the Vidisa country.

Vetravatī—It is the modern Betwa that flows into the Jumna.

Śiprā—The river is referred to by Kālidāsa in his Meghadūta (I, 31, 32). On it stood Ujjayinī.

Avarṇī—The Vāyu reads Avantī instead, in which case it must be a river of the Avantī or Malwa country

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identifiable with the river Avantī which rises near Mhow and flows into Cambal (Pargiter, Mārk. P., p. 295, notes).

The more important of the minor mountains in the Epics and Purāṇas that may be said to be associated with the Ṛkṣa, the Vindhya and the Pāriyātra are the Urjjayanta, the Raivataka, the Arbuda, the Kolāhala, the Citrakūṭa, the Amarakaṇṭaka, the Vaibhrāja and the Vātasvana. The Urjjayanta has long been identified with the Girnar mountain and the Raivataka with the hill opposite Girnar. Arbuda survives in the mount Abu (*cf.* the Arbuda Khaṇḍa of the Skanda Purāṇa). The Amarakaṇṭaka is the source of the Sone, the Mahānadī and the Narmmadā. The Kolāhala is the small range of hills in Bundelkhand, while Citrakūṭa still bears its old name and is situated not very far from Prayāg. Vaibhrāja is undoubtedly the Vaibhāra of the Dīpavaṁsa and the Mahāvaṁsa, one of the five hills of Rājagṛha in Bihar. Vātasvana has been identified by Beglar with Bathan īn south Bihar (Arch. Sur. Rep. VIII, p. 46).

All the rivers issuing from the Himavat and the different Kulācalas and Kṣūdraparvatas "possess holy merit; all are rivers flowing into the ocean; all are mothers of the world; they are well known to cleanse from all sin. And other small streams, are mentioned in thousands, O, Brahman, those which flow only during the rainy season, and those which flow at all seasons." (Pargiter, Mārk P., pp. 306-307).[1]

1. Sarvāh puṇyāḥ sarasvatyah sarvvā Gaṅgāḥ samudragāḥ
Vis'vasya mātaraḥ sarvvāḥ sarvvāh pāpaharāḥ smṛtāh
anyāh sahasras'as'coktāh kṣudranadyo dvijottama
Prāvṛtkālavahāḥ santi sadākālavahās'ca yāh.
(Mārk P., p. 57, 30-32.)

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CHAPTER VI

COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES OF INDIA

(Epic and Pauranic Sources)

BHĀRATAVARṢA AND ITS VARIOUS DIVISIONS

The Jambudvīpa, according to Puranic authors, was originally divided into seven varṣas, namely Ilāvṛta or Meru varṣa, Ramyaka or Ramaṇaka (Matsya, 113, 61 ; Mbh. VI, 8. 2) or Nīlavarṣa (Brahmāṇḍa, 34, 46), Hiraṇmaya or Śvetavarṣa (Brahmāṇḍa, 34. 46 ; Agni 107. 7), Uttarakuru or Śṛṇgavad—(Brḍa, 34. 47) or Airāvata-varṣa (Mbh. VI, 6. 37), Bhārata or Himāva (Brḍa, 84. 44, 53) or Himavata (Brḍa, 35. 30, Matsya, 113. 28) or Ajanābha (Ind. Ant. 1899. p. 1), Kiṁpuruṣa or Hemakūṭa-varṣa (Brḍa, 34. 44) or Haimavata-varṣa (Mbh. VI, 6. 7) or Kiṁnara-khaṇḍa (Ain-i-Akbari, III, pp. 30. 31), and Harivarṣa or Niṣadhavarṣa (Brḍa, 34. 45). Two other varṣas, namely, Bhadrāśva or Mālyavad-varṣa and Ketumāla or Gandhmādana-varṣa (Brḍa, 34. 47, 48), were later on added to the original seven, thus bringing the total number of varṣas to nine (for sapta-varṣāṇi, see Matsya, 113-14 ; Brḍa, 35, 24 ; ibid, 28, Mbh. VI. 6. 53 ; for nava-varṣāṇi, see, Matsya, 114, 85 ; Brḍa, 34, 48 ; ibid, 35, 7 ; Nīlakaṇṭha's Com. on Mbh. VI. 6, 37). Of these varṣas Bhāratavaṣa lay most to the South. It was separated from the Kiṁpuruṣa by the Himavat, and had the shape of a bow (Matsya, 113, 32 ; Brḍa, 35. 33 ; Mbh. VI. 6, 38). It

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lay between the Himavat to the north and the sea to the south (Vāyu, 45. 75-76 ; Viṣṇu, II. 3. 1.)[1]

The name Bhāratavarṣa is said to have been derived from King Bharata, a descendant of Priyavrata, son of Manu Svayambhava.[2]

Bhāratavarṣa, according to Purāṇic Cosmology, was divided into *nava khaṇḍas* or nine divisions. According to *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* they are :

Indradvīpaḥ Kaśerumāns-Tāmraparṇo Gabhastimān
Nāgadvīpastathā Saumyo Gāndharvvo Vāruṇastathā
Ayaṁ tu navamasteṣāṁ dvīpaḥ sāgarasaṁvṛtaḥ[3]
Yojanānāṁ sahasraṁ vai dvīpo yaṁ dakṣiṇottarāt
Brāhmaṇāḥ Kṣatriyā Vaiśyāḥ Śūdrāścāntaḥsthitā dvija[4]

These nine 'bhedas' or 'khaṇḍas' of Bhāratavarṣa are mentioned also in the famous astronomical work, the Siddhānta Śiromaṇi (III. 41) of the celebrated astronomer Bhāskarācārya, as well as in the majority of Purāṇas. The Vāmana and the Garuḍa Purāṇas however replace Saumya and Gāndharva by Kaṭāha and Siṁhala. The ninth dvīpa which is described as 'encircled by seas, extending over thousand yojanas from north to south,[5] with Kirātas at the eastern

1. For the historical value and otherwise of the different Pauranic Varṣas, see, Ray Chaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, pp. 64-80.

2. Brḍa, 34, 55 ; Bhāga, XI, 2. 15 ff.

3. The *Nagarasaṁvṛtaḥ* of Alberuni is obviously a copyist's mistake (Indica, I, 295).

4. Mārk. P. 57.

5. According to the Skanda Purāṇa, Kumārika Khaṇḍa extended from only the Mahendra mountain to the Pāriyātra (Kumārika Khaṇḍa, 39. 113) ; according to the Garuḍa Purāṇa, however, it

extreme and Yavanas at the western and Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras residing between', is not mentioned by name in the majority of the Purāṇas. The name is supplied by the Vāmana Purāṇa as Kumāra (XIII. ii) and by the Kumārika Khaṇḍam of the Skanda Purāṇa as Kumārika (39. 69). The Kāvyamīmāṁsā of Rājaśekhara also gives the name of the ninth dvīpa as Kumārī (Deśa-vibhāga, p. 92). The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa along with other Purāṇas describe the nine dvīpas as 'separated by seas and as being mutually inaccessible' (Samudrāntaritā jñeyāste tvagamyāḥ parasparam, Mārk. 575). But Bhāratavarṣa, as we now know it, is not separated by seas within itself, nor are its component parts "mutually inaccessible"; Bhāratavarṣa is not thus our India of present geographical area. That Bhāratavarṣa connoted a much larger area than India proper will be evident from the fact that only one of its islands, the ninth, stands for India proper. The 'ninth dvīpa,' *i.e.* the Kumāri or Kumārika dvīpa is described to be surrounded by sea and to have been inhabited by the Kirātas and the eastern extreme and Yavanas at the western with Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras thrown within. The Kumārī dvīpa thus seems to be identical with India proper; and in its account the Paurāṇic authors seem to describe a condition of India as in about the first century A. D., when Ptolemy locates the Kirrhadia, doubtless identical with the Kirātas, in the eastern region (Cf. Majumdar's edition of Ptolemy, p. 219) and the inscriptions

was bounded on the east by the Kirātas, on the west by the Yavanas, on the south by the Āndhras and on the north by the Turuṣkas (55. 6).

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of Aśoka place the Yonas or Yavanas along with the Kambojas and Gāndhāras[1] Bhāratavarṣa thus denoted a much larger area than India proper[2]

As to the identifications of eight other dvīpas there is much scope for speculation, and hence a great deal of disagreement among scholars. Thus Alberuni identifies Indradvīpa with Madhyadeśa, *i. e.*, the middle country (Indica I, p. 296) while Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Akbari* places it between Laṅkā and Mahendra hills (III, p. 31) which somewhat agrees with the location of the dvīpa as described in Skandapurāṇa.

Surendranath Majumdar Sastri identifies it with Burma. The next dvīpa, Kaserumat, is placed by Alberuni to the east of Madhyadeśa, and between Mahendra and Sukti hills by Abul Fazl.

Majumdar identifies it with the Malay Peninsula. The third dvīpa, Tāmravarṇa or (Tāmraparṇa or Tāmraparṇī) is placed in the south-east by Alberuni and between Sukti and Malaya by Abul Fazl. It is probably identifiable with the region drained by the river Tāmraparṇī in the extreme South. The dvīpa is also identifiable with Ceylon which the Greek Geographers knew as Taprobane, and is referred to in the inscriptions of Aśoka as Tambapaṇṇi. Gabhastimat,

1 Cf. also the *Mahāvamsa*, Geiger's trans. p. 85, p. 194, n ; Cf. also the invasion of the Indo-Greeks in the time of the Suṅgas, and later of the Bactrian Greeks.

2 Pargiter rightly observes that the description of Kumārīdvīpa does not fully accord with the geographical position of India, for India proper "is not surrounded by the sea, but bounded by it only on the east, south and west, and only partially so on the east and west for verse 8 places the Kirātas and Yavanas respectively." Mārk. p. 284 n.

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according to Abul Fazl, lay between the Ṛkṣa and the Malaya, and according to Alberuni, to the south of the Madhyadeśa. According to Smith Nāgadvīpa seems to be identical with the Jaffna Peninsula of Ceylon (Early History of India, 4th Edn., p. 491) Saumya has not been identified, but Katāha which is the substitute reading in the Vāmana Purāṇa has been rightly identified with Kedah in the Malaya Peninsula. Gāndharva is placed by Alberuni to the north-west of the Madhyadeśa ; it is doubtless identical with the well-known and very ancient region of Gandhāra. Garuḍa Purāṇa reads Simpala instead which is Ceylon. Varuṇa, the eighth dvīpa, is placed by Abul Fazl between the Sahya and the Vindhya.

Perhaps older and certainly more accurate than the tradition of the Pauraṇic *Navakhaṇḍa* is the division of Bhāratavarṣa into nine bhedas by the celebrated astronomers Parāśara and Varāhamihira.[1] These astronomers and astrologers conceived the shape of India as that of a tortoise (kūrma) lying outspread ; they therefore describe the country as *Kurma-cakra*. Each of the nine *bhedas* is called a varga by Varāha ; Bhāratavarṣa is thus divided into nine parts conforming to the nine of the ten points of the compass, *e. g.* the central, eastern, southern, western, northern, south-eastern or *Āgneya*, south-western or *Naiṛta* north-western of *Vāyava* and north-eastern *Aiśāna*. Pañcāla was the main district in the central division, Magadha in the eastern, Kulinda in the north-eastern, Madra in the northern, Harahaura (or Hara Huṇa)

1 Varāhamihira is supposed to have adopted the tradition earlier recorded by Parās'ara in his *Parās'aratantra*. See, Kern's edn. of Bṛhatsaṁhitā of Varāha, p. 32.

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in the north-western, Sindhu in the western, Ānarta in the south-western, Avanta in the southern, and Kaliṅga in the south-eastern (Bṛhat Saṁ, Ch. XIV. 32, 33). But when Varāha comes to his details, he assigns Sindhu and Sauvīra in the south-western division (Naiṛta) along with Pahlava and Kamboja and evidently Ānarta also (Ibid, XIV. 17). "This mistake is certainly as old as the eleventh century, as Abu Rihān has preserved the names Varāha's abstract in the same order as they now stand in the *Bṛhat Samhitā* (Reinaud, Memoire sur l'Inde, pp. 116, 117 cf. no. II, map. fig. 3). These details are also supported by the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, which assigns both Sindhu-Sauvīra and Ānarta to the south-west."[1]

But the most accurate from the geographical point of view is the description of our country divided into five and seven regions as given in the *Purāṇa* and the *Mahābhārata.* The division of India into five regions is however as old as the Atharvaveda (XIX. 17. 1-9) and the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 14), and was adopted by later Brahmanical and Buddhistic authorities.[2] Thus Smṛti writers like Baudhāyāua seem to suggest a five-fold division while Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamīmamsā* actually adopts it. Buddhist writers like Yuan Chwang and authors of earlier texts also follow the same division. The Mahābhārata also describes five divisions in detail, the central or Madhyadeśa, the eastern, southern, western and nothern and at least three, the Matsya, Vāyu and Viṣṇu purāṇas, agree with it. According to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa,* Madhyadeśa was occupied by the Kurus and Pañcālas,

1 Cunningham's Geography, Majumdar's Edn., p. 7 and note.
2 Law, Geography of Early Buddhism, Intro., p. xixff.

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the east by the people of Kāmarūpa, the south by the Puṇḍras, Kaliṅgas and Magadhas, the west by the Saurāṣṭras, Śuras, Ābhīras, Arbudas, Kārūṣas, Mālavas, Śauvīras and Śaindhavas, and the north (?) by the Hūṇas, Śālvas, the people of Śākala, Ambaṣṭhas, Pārasikas, Rāmas etc. (Wilson's Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Vol. II. Bk. II. 3, p. 132 ; there is, however no mention of the northern division in the text but it is nevertheless evident). The Viṣṇu Purāṇa list of countries is very meagre ; the Mahābhārata has a much longer catalogue, but it is without any arrangement ; so also in the Padmapurāṇa.

The longest list of countries and peoples of India is however, contained in Mārkaṇḍeya, the Brahmāṇḍa and the Vāyu. Both the Mārkaṇḍeya and the Brahmāṇḍa refer to the territorial divisions of India (Kumārīdvīpa) as numbering seven, the latter expressly stating that in ancient times Bhāratavarṣa was divided into seven regions (Sapta Khaṇḍam).[1] But this division into seven regions is not anything fundamentally different from the division into five which is adopted by the majority of the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata. This will be evident from the lists of the divisions which are as follows : the Madhyadeśa, the Udīcya or north, the Prācya or east, Dakṣiṇāpatha or south, the Aparānta or west, the Vindhyan region and the Himālayan region (*Parvataśreyiṇah*).

The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa has also a second classification, apart from this seven, into nine, adopted certainly from the astronomical and astrological work

1 Brahmāṇḍa, 36, 64.

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of Varāhamihira and Parāśara. There India is described as resting on Viṣṇu in the form of a tortoise looking eastward ; the various countries and peoples of Bhāratavarṣa are distributed accordingly over the several parts of his body, together with corresponding lunar constellations. The majority of the names of countries and peoples is very much the same as we find in the Nadyādivarṇanā section of the same purāṇa, but there is also quite a good lot of names that are entirely new and original.

It has already been pointed out that geographically speaking the division of our country into seven regions is more accurate and more in accord with reality. We, therefore, propose to follow the account as given in the *nadyādi varṇanā* section (Ch. 57) and supplement it by names of peoples and countries as mentioned in the astronomical section (Ch. 58). The Brahmāṇḍa and the Vāyu Purāṇas, and as a matter of fact other Purāṇas also, give us nothing more than what is there in these two sections of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.

SHAPE OF INDIA

It has already been pointed out that according to the *Kūrmaniveśa* section (*i.e.* astronomical) of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa as well as the works of our early astronomical authors the shape of India was like that of a tortoise "lying outspread and facing eastwards." This conception ignores the extreme southern region of the country. From the geographical standpoint, a sober account is given in a number of Purāṇas as well as in the Mahābhārata which describe India as having the shape of a bow (Matsya, 113, 32 ; Brḍa, 35, 33, Mbh. VI., 6, 38). Nīlakaṇṭha, the celebrated Commen-

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tator of the Mahābhārata, confirms the bow-like description of the country (Commy. on the Mbh. VI, 6. 3-5), but he also speaks of Bhāratavarṣa as being triangular in shape (Ibid. VI, 6. 3-5) which is certainly a better description. The most accurate description, however, seems to be the one as given in the *nadyādi varṇanā* section of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa. India according to this conception, is "constituted with a four-fold conformation. On its south and west and east is the great ocean ; the Himavat range stretches along on its north, like the string of a bow.[1]"

MADHYA-DEŚA OR CENTRAL REGION[2]

Matsyāśvakūṭāḥ Kulyāśca Kuntalāḥ Kāśī Kośalāḥ
Atharvāśca Kaliṅgāśca Malakāśca Vṛkaiḥ saha
Madhyadeśyā Janapadāḥ prāyaśo'mī prakīrtitāḥ ॥
Sahyasya c'ottare yāstu yatra Godāvarī nadī |
Pṛthivyāmpi Kṛtsnāyāṁ sa pradeśo manoramaḥ ॥
Govardhanaṁ puraṁ ramyaṁ Bhārgavasya
mahātmanaḥ |
(Mārk. P. 57. 32-35).

1 Mārk. P. 57. 59 Pargiter's Tr. p. 347. According to Cunningham, the Mahābhārata has another description of the shape of the country, that of an equilateral triangle "which was divided into four smaller equal triangles. The apex of the triangle is Cape Comorin, and the base is formed by the line of the Himālaya mountains." Anc. Geo. of India, Majumdar's Edn. p. 5.

For other descriptions of the shape of India, see, ibid, pp.1-13 ; Camb. Hist. of India, 1, pp. 400-402 ; Ray Chaudhuri, Studies in Indian Antiquities, pp. 84-86 ; Law, Geography of Early Buddhism, Intro., p. xixff.

2 For the boundaries of Madhyades'a, see Law, Ibid, pp. 1-2.

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Matsya—According to the Mahābhārata (Sabhā P. XXX, 1105-6) the Matsya country of the Matsya people was situated south or south-west of Indraprastha, and west of Sūrasena (Virāṭa P. V. 141-45). According to Manu it was within the limits of Brahmarṣideśa (Manu, II, 19). The Mahābhārata mentions (Śalya p. XXXVI, 1973-76) Upaplavya or Upaplava, a city situated at a distance of two days' journey by chariot from Hastināpura, as its capital (Udyoga P. LXXXIII 3910-17 : LXXXV. 3040). It is difficult to ascertain if Upaplavya was the same as Bairāṭa or Birāṭanagara which is also said to have been the capital city of the Matsya. Virāṭanagara was so called because it was the capital of Virāṭa, king of the Matsyas. According to Buddhist tradition it was one of the sixteen Mahājanapadas. The Matsya country comprised the modern territory of Jaipur including the whole of the present territory of Alwar with a portion of Bharatpur.

The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Vatsas instead of Matsyas (XLV. 110). The kingdom of the Vaṁsas or Vatsas is mentioned in Buddhist texts as one of the sixteen Mahājanapadas. According to the Mahābhārata Vatsa or Vatsya kingdom was situated to the east of Indraprastha (Sabhā P. XXIX. 1084) ; its king Vatsa was a grandson of king Divodāsa of Benares (Hari V. XXIX. 1587, 1597). The capital of the Vatsa country was Kauśāmbī identical with modern Kosam near Allahabad.[1]

Aśvakūṭas—Such as a tribe or country is unknown : it is obviously a misreading, for the Vāyu Purāṇa

1 Law, Geo. E. B., pp. 16-17.

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reads Kisaṣṇas, Kisaṣṭas or Kisadyas instead (XLV. 110), and the Matsya reads Kirātas (CXIII. 35). But we have otherwise no information of the location of the Kirātas in the Madhyadeśa ; epic and pauranic tradition places them in the eastern region as we shall see later on ; evidently the Kirātas are out of place here.

Kulyas—No such tribe or country is known ; but it may be possible that they were the same people as the Kulutas, a republican community, who are mentioned in inscriptions of about the 1st century A. D. The Kulutas dwelt in the Punjab along with such tribes as the Mālavas, Yaudheyas, Ārjunāyanas, Udumbaras, Kunindas etc.

Kuntalas—The Bhīṣma Parva (IX. 347, 359, and 367) of the Mahābhārata has some references to this tribe. The tribe referred to in verse 347 of the Bhiṣma Parva is probably the one referred to here in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa. The Kuntalas evidently occupied a country contiguous to Kāśī and Kosala where Cunningham found a region called Kuntila near Chunar. The tribe mentioned in verse 359 seems to have been a western people as they are mentioned along with peoples residing in the western region. The third tribe mentioned in verse 367 was the well-known Kuntala people of the South who played an important rôle in the history of the Deccan.

Kāśī—Celebrated as one of the oldest janapadas Kāśī finds mention in each and every ancient work of importance, Brahmanical or Buddhist. It is the ancient Vārāṇasī. According to the Rāmāyaṇa (Ādi. K. XII. 20) Kāśī was a kingdom while Prayāga and the regions around it were still a forest (Cf. Kalakāvana).

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The Harivaṁśa refers to its early vicissitudes (XXIX and XXXII) while the Udyoga Parva of the Mahābhārata alludes to Kṛṣṇa's repeated burning of the city (XLVII. 1883).

Kośala—Evidently Uttara Kośala or Northern Kośala is meant for another Kośala which was called Dakṣiṇa Kośala or Mahā-Kośala mentioned later on in verse 54 of Chap. 57 of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa. According to epic tradition, Ayodhyā on the Sarayū seems to have been the earliest capital, but later on, in Buddhist times, Ayodhyā sank to the level of an unimportant city but Sāketa and Sāvatthī were two of the six important cities of India.[1]

Atharvas and Arkaliṅgas—These two names are evidently misreadings, and it is difficult to find out what the correct form had been. The Vāyu Purāṇa reads *atha pārśve tilaṅgāśca* instead of *Atharvāśca Kaliṅgāśca*, while the Matsya reads *Atharvāśca Kaliṅgāśca.* All these readings are improbable. Tilaṅgas are well-known as a southern people, identical with the Trikaliṅgas, and mentioned in Chap. 58, verse 28 of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa in connection with the southern people. Avantas and Kaliṅgas are also well-known peoples but they are not known to have been located in the Madhyadeśa. In fact the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa refers to the Avantas as Vindhyan tribe (Ch. 57 ; verses 52 and 55) and to the Kaliṅgas once as a northern (Ibid ; V. 37) and at another time as a southern tribe (Ibid, V. 46). The reference to the Kaliṅgas as a northern tribe is certainly erroneous.

1 Law, Geo, E. B., pp. 4-6.

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Malakas—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Magadhas instead and the Matsya reads Mūkas. Both are misreadings, for the Magadhas are mentioned as an eastern people in verse 44 of Chap. 57 of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa. Pargiter suggests (Mārk. P., p. 309) that the reading should be Malajas. The Malajas "are mentioned in the Mahābhārata (Bhīṣma Parva, IX, 357) and Rāmāyaṇa (Ādi K. XXVII, 16-23) and from the course described in the latter poem as taken by Viśvāmitra and Rāma, it appears they were neighbours of the Kārūsas and occupied the district of Shahabad, west of the Sone.....(Ibid, 8-16).

Vṛkas—This tribe is similarly referred to in the Mahābhārata (Bhīṣma P. LI. 2106); but the Matsya Purāṇa reads Andhakas instead. The Andhakas, were very intimately associated with the Yādavas, and are often referred to in the Mahābhārata (Udyoga P. LXXXV, 304; Harivaṁśa, XXXV. 1907-8; ibid, XXXIX, 2041 etc.) but they are known to have been located in Western India of Aparānta. A more correct reading appears to be Vṛṣṇikas.

The Mārkaṇḍeya list of peoples and countries of Madhyadeśa does not seem to be complete; for, the Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇas enumerate few countries more (Vāyu, XLV. 109-110; Matsya, CXIII. 35, 36), and the Mahābhārata seems to confirm it (Bhīṣma P. IX. 346-7). These countries and peoples are as follows: the Kurus, Pañcālas, Śālvas, Jāṅgalas, Śurasenas, Bhadrakas, Bodhas and the lords of Śatapatha. The Matsya Purāṇa however, gives the last two names as Bāhyas and Paṭaccaras.

Kurus—The land of the Kurus was well-known as one of the sixteen mahājanapadas in the days of the

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Buddha ; many a Buddhist legend is associated with the Kurus and their country.[1] They are also very intimately connected with epic tradition ; indeed the Mahābhārata grew up with the Kuru people and their country as its background. The ancient Kuru country may be said to have comprised the Kurukṣetra or Thānesvar. The region included Sonapat, Amin, Karnal and Pānipat, and was situated between the Sarasvatī on the north and Dṛṣadvatī on the south.

According to Pargiter the Kurus occupied the country "from the Sivis and sub-Himālayan tribes on the north to Matsya, Sūrasena and South Pañcāla on the South, and between North Pañcāla on the east and Marubhūmi (the Rajputana desert) on the west. Their territory appears to have been divided into three parts, Kurukṣetra, the Kurus and the Kurujāṅgala (Ādi P. CIX. 4337-40). Kurukṣetra, 'the cultivated land of the Kurus' comprised the whole tract on the west of the Jumna and included the sacred region between the Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī (Vana P. LXXXIII. 5071-78 and 7073-76 ; Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyā K. LXX. 12 ; Megha D. I. 49-50)...Kuru-jāṅgala, 'the waste land of the Kurus' was the eastern part of their territory and appears to have comprised the tract between the Ganges and North Pañcāla (Rām. Ayodhyā K. LXXII ; Mbh. Sabhā P. XIX. 793-94). The middle region between the Ganges and Jumna seems to have been called simply the Kuru's country."

Pañcālas—According to Buddhist tradition Pañcāla had two divisions : Uttara Pañcāla and Dakṣiṇa

1 Law, Geo. E. B., pp. 17-18.

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Pañcāla. Mahābhārata also refers to these two divisions of the country, the capital of Uttara Pañcāla was Ahicchatra or Chatravatī (identical with modern Ramnagar in the Bareilly district), while Southern Pañcāla had its capital at Kāmpilya (Mbh. 138. 73-74), identical with modern Kāmpil in the Farokhabad district. According to Buddhist tradition as contained in the Divyāvadāna, the capital of Uttara Pañcāla was Hastināpura while according to the Jātakas Kapillanagara was the capital.[1]

Pañcāla was originally the country north and west of Delhi from the foot of Himālayas to the river Chambal, but it was divided into North and South Pañcāla, separated by the Ganges. It roughly corresponds to modern Budaon, Furrukhabad and the adjoining districts of the U. P.

Śālvas—The Śālvas as a people are often mentioned in the Mahābhārata ; in the Vanaparva they are also mentioned as Śālveyas (CCLXIII, 15576-82). They lived not very far from the Kurus and Trigarttas (Virāta P. I, 11-12 ; Ibid, XXX). Satyavān was a Śālva prince (Vana P. CCXCII) ; the story of Kṛṣṇa's conquest of the Śālva country points to the fact that they were located somewhere contiguously with the Yādavas (Vana p. XIV-XXII ; Udyoga p. XLVII. 1886 ; Droṇa p. XI. 395). Pargiter therefore thinks that the Śālva country was situated along the western side of the Aravalli hills.

Jāṅgalas—Pargiter's suggestion that the Jāṅgalas are the same as the people of Kurujāṅgalas is evi-

1 Law, Geo. E. B., pp. 18-19.

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dently correct, since they are mentioned along with the Kurus and contiguous tribes (see above), and there are no other people of this name mentioned in ancient texts or inscriptions.

Sūrasenas—Sūrasena lay not far from the country of the Kurus and the Matsyas. In fact, it was located immediately to the south of the Kuru country and to the east of the Matsya country. Sūrasena became famous in epic and pauranic literature because of its connection with Kṛṣṇa and the Yādava tribe. The country had its capital at Mathurā which stood on the Jamuna. The epic and pauranic story of Kaṁsa's attempt to make himself a tyrant at Mathurā by overpowering the Yādavas, and his consequent death at the hands of Kṛṣṇa is not only referred to by Patañjali but also by the Jātakas. The early Greek writers knew Sūrasena as Sourasendi [1]. Presumably the Sūrasenas belonged to the Yādava tribe, for Mathurā, the capital of the Sūrasenas, is specially called the capital of the Yādavas and the kings ruling at Mathurā also belonged to that tribe (Harivaṁśa, LVII, 3180-83 ; LXXIX. 4124-34, etc.).

Bhadrakaras—The location of the Bhadrakaras is difficult to determine as well as their identity ; doubtless they are the same as the Bhadrakāras (Sabhā P. XIII, 590) and the Bhadras (Vana P. CCLIII, 15256) of the Mahābhārata. The people may be said to have had their habitat near about the Kurus, the Matsyas and the Sūrasenas. It is not improbable that

1 See Geo. E. B. by Law, pp. 20-21.

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the Uttamabhadras known in historical times as a republican tribe were a section of the epic and pauranic Bhadrakas or Bhadras.

Bodhas—The Bodhas are mentioned also in the Mahābhārata (Sabhā P. XIII. 590 ; Bhīṣma P. IX. 347), and perhaps also in the Rāmāyaṇa as Bodhis (Ayodhyā K. LXX. 15). These people were probably located somewhere in the eastern districts of the Punjab.

The reading Bāhyas of the Matsya Purāṇa seems to be erroneous, since the name is not met with elsewhere, if of course, they are not equated with the Bāhikas.

S'atapatha—This is unintelligible, and obviously erroneous. Paṭaccara is indeed a better reading, for a people of this name is also mentioned in the Mahābhārata (Sabhā P. XIII. 590 91 ; XXX. 1108 ; Virāṭa P. I, 11-12, etc.).

After the catalogue of countries and peoples in the Madhyadeśa the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa has the following passage :

Sahyasya c'ottare yāstu yatra Godāvarī nadī ।
Pṛthivyāmapi Kṛtsnāyām sa pradeśo manoramaḥ ॥
Govardhanam puram ramyaṁ Bhārgavasya
mahātmanaḥ ।

The Vāyu purāna, however, reads Sahyasya c'ottarārddhe tu instead of Sahyasya c'ottare yāstu ; the former indeed makes a better reading, for any people who are said to have been located just to the north of the Sahya mountains cannot be said to be within Madhyadeśa. According to the reading as given in

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the Vāyu and also in the Matsya (*Sahyasyānantare c'aite*) the people mentioned in this passage, i. e. the Bhārgavas, were located along the (northern half of the) Sahya mountains and the region in which the Godāvari flows. "This region and the country west of it on the other side of these mountains and the tract northwards to the Narmadā", Pargiter points out, "are connected in many a story with Bhṛgu, his son Cyavana and his descendants (Mbh. Ādi P. CLXXVIII, 6802-10 ; Vana P. CXXI, CXXII, LXXXIX. 8364-65, CXV. 10150-2, etc.). The Bhārgavas were however, a numerous race and spread into other regions : they are also mentioned as one of the eastern peoples" (Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Ch. LVII, 43). The Bhārgavas were probably identical with the Bhaggas of the Buddhist texts who were located at Sumsumāragiri in the Majjhimadesa.[1]

APARĀNTA & UDĪCYA or NORTH-WESTERN AND THE NORTHERN COUNTRIES

Vāhlikā Vāṭadhānāśca Ābhīrāḥ Kālatoyakāḥ ||
Aparāntāśca Śūdrāśca Pallavāśca Carmakhaṇḍikāḥ |
Gāndhārā Yavanāścaiva Sindhu-Sauvīra-Madrakāḥ ||
Śatadruyāḥ Kaliṅgāśca Pāradā Hārabhūṣikāḥ |
Māṭharā Bahubhadrāśca Kaikeya Daśamālikāḥ ||
Kṣatriyopaniveśāśca Vaiśya-Śūdrakulāni ca |
Kāmbojā Daradāścaiva Barbarā Harṣavardhanāḥ ||
Cināścaiva tu Khārāśca bahulā Bāhyato narāḥ |
Ātreyāśca Bharadvājāḥ Puṣkalāśca Kaśerukāḥ ||

1 Law, Geo. E. B., pp. 33, 43.

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Lampākāḥ Śūlakāraśca Culikā Jāguḍaiḥ Saha |
Aupadhāścānimadrāśca Kirātānāñca Jātayaḥ ||
Tāmasā Haṁsamārgāśca Kāśmīrastuṅganāstathā |
Śūlikāḥ Kuhakāścaiva Urṇā ḍarvāstathaiva ca ||
Ete deśā hyudīcyāstu..... .....

(Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Ch. 57. 35-42).

The northern peoples are the Vāhlikas, Vāṭadhānās, the Ābhīras, the Kālatoyakas, the Aparāntas, the Śūdras, the Pallavas, the Carmakaṇḍikas, the Gāndhāras, the Yavanas, the Sindhus, the Sauvīras, the Madrakas, the Śatadrūjas, the Kaliṅgas, the Pāradas, the Hārabhūṣikas, the Māṭharas, the Bahubhadras, the Kaikeyas, the Daśamālikas, the settlements of the Kṣatriyas, the families of the Vaiśyas and Śūdras, the Kambojas, the Daradas, the Barbaras, the Harṣavardhanas, the Cīnas, the Kharas, and the various peoples who live outside, the Ātreyas, the Bharadvājas, the Puṣkalas, the Kaśerūkas, the Lampākas, the Śūlakāras, the Culikas, the Jāguḍas, the Aupadhas, the Animadras, the Kirātas, the Tāmasas, the Haṁsamārgas, the Kāśmīras, the Tuṅganas, the Śūlikas, the Kuhakas, the Urṇas and the Darvas.

Vāhlikas—They are the same people as the Vālhīkas or Valhīkas. For a detailed account of this tribe readers are referred to my *Ancient Indian Tribes,* Vol. II, pp. 58-60.

Vāṭadhānas—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Vāḍhadhānas which is evidently a mistake, for the people referred to are mentioned several times in the Mahābhārata under the name Vāṭadhānas (Sabhā P. I, 1826 ; Udyoga P. III, 86 ; Bhīṣma P. IX, 354 ; Droṇa P. XI, 398). The Mahābhārata includes the name of their king Vāṭadhāna under the *Krodha-vasa* group (Ādi

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Parva, LXVII. 2695-9) to which also belonged the eponymous kings of the Vāhlīkas, Madras and Sauvīras. Evidently the Vāṭadhānas were connected with these peoples and were located contiguously to these tribes. The Vāṭadhānas were also among the peoples that assembled on the side of the Kauravas, and from the reference as given in the Udyoga Parva (XVIII, 596-601) and Sabhā Parva (XXXI. 1190-91) it appears that the tribe was located somewhere on the eastern side of the Sutlej. According to Manu (X. 21) a Vāṭadhāna was the off-spring of an outcaste Brahman and a Brahman woman; "but", says Pargiter, "that is no doubt an expression of the same arrogance which in later times stigmatised all the Punjab races as outcastes....."

Ābhīras—According to the Mahābhārata (Sabhā P., XXXI, 1192) the Ābhiras were classed into three divisions. One dwelt along the Sarasvatī, one lived by fishing and may perhaps be interpreted as having their location along the sea-coast and the third dwelling on the mountains. Mahābhārata mentions them several times, and the Rāmāyaṇa at least twice in the Kiṣkindhyā Kāṇḍa (XLIII. 5 and 19). For a detailed account of the tribe readers are referred to my *Ancient Indian Tribes*, Vol. II, pp. 51-54.

Kālatoyakas—The Mahābhārata reads Kālajoṣakas instead (Bhīṣma P. IX, 354); but neither the Kālatoyakas nor the Kālajoṣakas are identifiable.

Aparāntas—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Aparītas and Matsya Purandharas instead; both are evidently erroneous. The Bhīṣma Parva list agrees with that of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, and mention is often made of the tribe in the Mahābhārata as Aparānta or

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Aparāntas (Bhīṣma P. IX. 355 ; Vana P. CCXVII, 7885-56 ; Śānti P. XLIX, 1780-82). Generally the term is applied to all the tribes living in the western region of India, but the Mārkaṇḍeya and the Bhīṣma Parva list must also be taken to signify a particular tribe. According to the astronomical list of the Mārkaṇḍeya (Chap. 58) the tribe seems to have been located north of the Sindhu-Sauvīra country.

Śūdras—In the Mahābhārata the Śūdras are almost invariably associated with the Ābhīras (Sabhā P. XXXI. 1192 ; Bhīṣma IX, 375 ; Droṇa P. XX. 798 ; Śalya P. XXXVIII, 2119-20) ; and were considered to be outside the pale of Aryanism. The Rāmāyaṇa (Kiṣ K. XLIII, 19) and some of the Purāṇas read Śūras instead which certainly is erroneous. A definite location of the tribe is provided by a śloka in the Mahābhārata which places them in western Rajputana where the Sarasvatī disappears (Śūdrābhīrān prati dveṣād yatro naṣṭā Sarasvatī, Mbh. IX, 37. 1).

The Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali to which we can assign a definite date is perhaps the earliest authority that introduces the Śūdras in Indian history (Patañjali, I, 2. 3). There the tribe is associated with the Ābhīras, a tradition which as we have seen is upheld by the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas as well (e. g., vide Viṣṇu P. by Wilson, Bk. II, Chap. 3, p. 133). The Śūdras were evidently identical with the Sodrai (Sogdai) of Greek historians of Alexander's time who place them in the western region of the Punjab.

Pallavas—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Pahlavas (XLV. 115) which obviously is the correct reading, for the Pallavas were admittedly a southern people. The Pahlavas are generally identified with the Pehlavis

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or ancient Persians. The Bhīṣma Parva list of the Mahābhārata mentions two tribes of this name (IX, 355 and 375), "but there appear to be no data to make a distinction as the allusions to the Pahlavas are generally vague, unless it be supposed there was a Pahlava colony in the Punjab ; and this supposition would suit this verse, for the Persians were altogether outside India. The Harivaṁśa says king Sagara defeated a great confederation of Pahlavas and other people, abrogated their laws, degraded them and made them wear beards (XIII, 763-64 ; XIV, 775-783) ; but this seems to be a late fable....."[1],

Carmakhaṇḍikas—The Matsya Purāṇa reads Āttakhaṇḍikas, or Cātta-khaṇḍikas, and the Bhīṣma Parva list of the Mahābhārata (IX, 355) Carmamaṇḍalas instead. These names are not identifiable ; but Pargiter's suggestion of its identification with Samarkand is interesting and ingenuous.

Gāndhāras—A great and famous people known from very ancient times. They practically occupied the whole lower basin of the Kabul river. Some passages of the Mahābhārata seem to suggest that the Gandhāras were an impure peole (Śānti Parva, LXV, 2429-31 ; CCVII. 7560-1 ; Karṇa P. XLIV, 2070 ; vide my "Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India," Chap. IX).

Gabalas—The Vāyu and the Matsya Purāṇas read Yavanas instead which undoubtedly is the correct reading. The Yavanas may be identified with the Indo-Greeks and Greco-Bactrians who held sway over

1 Pargiter, Mārk. P. p. 314 note.

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portions of the north-western frontier regions and the Punjab before and after the Christian era, though it seems that the people were known in India even before Alexander's time.

Sindhus and Sauviras—The Mahābhārata refers frequently to the Sindhus ; they are mentioned twice in the Bhīṣma Parva list, once in connection with the Pulindas and another time with the Sauvīras (IX. 348 and 361). The Kūrma Purāṇa (XLVII. 40) mentions the Hūṇas, the Mālyas (doubtless misreading for Śālyas or Śālvas) and the Bālyas (not identifiable) along with the Sindhus and Sauvīras.

For a detailed account of these two tribes, see my "Ancient Indian Tribes", Vol. II, pp. 20-22.

Madrakas—They are the same people as the Madras or Mādras from which tribe came Mādrī, the second queen of Pāṇḍu. According to epic tradition they were closely related to the Sauvīras and Vāhlīkas (Ādi P., LXVII, 2695-96). The capital of the Madra country was Sākala (Mbh., Sabhā P. XXXI. 1197) or modern Sialkot ; and the river Irāvatī flowed through the country (Matsya P. CXIV. 7 and 15-18). Later epic tradition brands the Madras as base and impure (Śānti P., CCVII, 7559-61 ; Harivaṁśa, XIV. 784).

S'atadrujas—They are the people who dwelt along the river Sutlej ; but the Vāyu Purāṇa reads Śakas and Hradas (XLV, 116), the Matsya, Śakas and Druhyas instead. The Śakas were a well-known people who left their traces in Indian history. They were first a northern and north-western people but gradually spread themselves towards the east and south and founded royal families as far east as Mathura and as far south as Surāṣṭra. The Hradas cannot be

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identified. The Druhyas were an ancient people, mentioned as early as the Ṛgveda along with the Anus.

Kaliṅgas (? Kulindas or Pulindas)—It is doubtless a copyist's error, for in no circumstance and never in history the Kaliṅgas were located in the northern or north-western country, though the Bhīṣma Parva list (IX. 376) repeats the same mistake. The correct reading is perhaps Kulindas as given by the Vāyu Purāṇa (XLV. 116) or Pulindas as in the Matsya Purāṇa (CXIII. 41). The Vana Parva of the Mahābhārata speaks of "all the countries of Kulinda" (CLXXVII. 12350) which seems to suggest that the Kulindas were distributed over different countries or a composite people consisting of different tribes. Passages in the Sabhā Parva seem to indicate that the Kulindas occupied the territory along the southern slopes of the Himālayas from the Punjab to Nepal (Sabhā P. XXV. 996 ; LI. 1858-59). The Pulindas were a hill tribe inhabiting the Himālayan region and were closely associated with the Kirātas (Vana p. CXL. 10863-65, Drona P. CXXI. 4846-47). Evidently they were aboriginal tribes and were considered as impure. The Rāmāyaṇa associates them with the Śabaras and seems to locate them somewhere in Central India ; this location is also upheld by some passages of the Mahābhārata (e. g. Sabhā P. XXVIII. 1068), XXX. 1120 ; Śānti P. CCVII. 7559).

Pāradas—Like the Kulindas the Pāradas were also a hill tribe and were considered *mlecchas* dwelling on the slopes of the Himālayas (Cf. Sabhā P. L. 1832 ; LI. 1869 ; LI. 1858-9 ; Droṇa P. CXXI. 4819 ; Hariv, XIII, 763-64 ; CXV. 6440-42 ; Manu, X. 43-44).

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Hāra-bhūṣikas—The variant readings are Hārapūrikas (Vāyu, XLV., 116) and Hāra-mūrtikas (Matsya, CXIII. 41). None of these names is identifiable. Pargiter suggests Hārahūṇakas who are mentioned in the Mahābhārata as a people outside India on the west (Sabhā P. XXXI, 1194 ; L. 1844 ; Vana P. LI. 1991).

Mātharas—The reading is evidently erroneous ; the Matsya Purāṇa (CXIII. 43) reads Rāmaṭhas instead. There is a mention of the same people in the Mahābhārata which locates them in the west (Sabhā P. XXXI. 1195 ; Vana P. LI. 1991 ; Śānti P. LXV. 2430). The name of the people is also given as Ramaṭas or Ramaṭhas, as in the Vāyu Purāṇa (XLV. 117) and also in the Mahābhārata. There is, however, no clue to their identification.

Bahu-bhadras—The variants are Bāhu-bādhas (Bhīṣma P. IX. 362) and Bālabhadras (Karṇa P. VI. 153) in the Mahābhārata, and Kaṇṭakāras and Raddha-Kaṭakas in the Matsya and Vāyu Purāṇas (CXIII. 42 and XLV. 117) respectively.

Kaikeyas—They are the same people as the Kekayas or Kaikayas, famous in the Mahābhārata as a powerful nation (Sabhā P. IV. 126 ; Vana P. CCLXVII. 15654). It was from this tribe that came Kaikeyī, the second wife of Daśaratha. The Mahābhārata seems to associate the tribe with the Madras (Sabhā P. LI. 1870 ; Droṇa P. XX. 799), it seems, therefore, that the tribe was settled in the Punjab. The Rāmāyaṇa mentions their capital Rājagṛha or Girivraja (Ādi K. LXXIX. 35-44) which, however, must not be confounded with the city of the same name famous in the time of the Buddha and in the

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early Buddhist texts. Cunningham identifies the Rājagṛha or Girivraja of the Rāmāyaṇa with Girjāk, the ancient name of Jalalpur, on the river Jhelum (Arch. Sur. Rep., II, 14).

Daśamālikas—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Daśamāṇikas (XLV. 117) while the Matsya reads Daśanāmakas (CXIII. 42). The Bhīṣma Parva list, however, agrees with the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (Bhīṣma P. IX. 374), but it is difficult to identify or locate the people.

The Mārkaṇḍeya now proceeds to give a list of people dwelling evidently (Vāhyatonarāḥ) the borders of India. They were the Kāmbojas, the Daradas, the Barbaras, the Harṣavardhanas, the Cīnas and the Tukhāras.

Kāmbojas—The Kāmbojas were a famous people dwelling in the extreme north of the Punjab beyond the Indus. According to epic and later Indian tradition, the country of the Kāmbojas was noted for a particular breed of horses ; indeed references to Kāmboja horses are numerous in both the epics. The Mahābhārata associates them with the Cīnas (Bhīṣma P. IX. 373), the Yavanas and Śakas (Udyoga P., XVIII., 590) and the Daradas (Sabhā P., XVI., 1031). According to the same tradition they were considered to be outside the pale of Aryanism (Vana P., CLXXXVIII, 12838-40 ; Śānti P. CCVII. 7560-61. Vide my "Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India," Chapter VIII).

Daradas—They were a hill tribe associated in epic tradition with the Kāśmīras (Mbh. Droṇa P. LXX. 2435) ; the Kāmbojas and the Cīnas (See *ante*) and the Tuṣāras (probably Tukhāras ; Vana P. CLXXVII. 12350). They were also considered as *mlecchas*. Vide Indian Culture, Jany. 1935, p. 388.

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Barbaras--Epic tradition connects the Barbaras with the Sakas and Yavanas (Mbh., Sabhā P., XXXI., 1199 ; Vana P., CCLIII., 15254 ; Śānti P., CCVII, 7560-61) ; evidently they were neighbours of these tribes and were inhabitants of the north-western region. The country of the Barbaras seems to have extended to the Arabian Sea. Their port was called Barbarika which was probably identical with Barbaricum of the Greek geographers (Cunningham's A. G. I., Majumdar's Edn., pp. 693-95 ; vide Indian Culture, Jany. 1935, p., 388).

Harṣavardhanas—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Priyalaukikas instead, but these names are not identifiable.

Cīnas—Evidently they were the people of China, but here Cīnas certainly do not refer original country. Presumably they were those Chinese people who had settled down along the Indian side of the Himālayas from the north-west to the extreme east. Thus in one place in the Mahābhārata (Bhīṣma P. IX. 373) they are associated with the Kāmbojas which seem to indicate that they were settled in the north-west while in another (Udyoga P. XVIII. 584-85) they are noticed among the soldiers who followed Bhagadatta, king of Prāgjyotiṣa, i. e., roughly modern Assam. Still there are other references which seem to indicate that they were settled not very far from the sources of the Ganges (Vana P. CLXXVII. 12350 ; Śānti P. CCCXXVII. 12226-29). They seem to have been a respectable and well-known people (Udyoga P. XVIII. 584-85). Their country was famous for a particular breed of horses (Udyoga P. LXXXV. 3049).

A people called the Apara-Cīnas (Western Cīnas) is mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa (Kiṣ. XLIV. 15).

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Tukhāras—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Tuṣāras instead (XLV. 118). Both forms are admissible, and the Mahābhārata refers to the people in both the names (Sabhā P. L. 1850 ; Vana P. LI. 1991 ; Śānti P.,LXV. 2429). The Rāmāyaṇa also mentions the Tukhāras (Kiṣ. K. XLIV. 15). Epic tradition connects them with the Śakas, Daradas, Pahlavas, etc. They were considered to have been outside the pale of Aryanism.

The *Mārkaṇḍeya* then proceeds to give the names of a few more tribes and countries of the north : they were the Ātreyas, Bharadvājas, Puṣkalas, Kaserurakas, Lampākas, Śūlakāras, Culikas, Jāguḍas, Aupadhas, Animadras, Kirātas, Tāmasas, Haṁsamārgas, Kāśmīras, Tuṅganas, Śūlikas and the Kuhakas, Urṇas and Darvas.

Most of these tribes cannot be satisfactorily identified, for example, the Kaserukas, the Śūlakāras, the Aupadhas, the Animadras, the Tāmasas, the Haṁsamārgas and the Kuhakas. Some of these names again are names more of families than of tribes, e. g., the Ātreyas, the Bharadvājas, etc.

Ātreyas—In the Mahābhārata the Ātreyas are said to have been residents of Dvaita-vana (Mbh. Vana P. XXVI. 971), a forest and lake near the Sarasvatī (Ibid, CLXXVII. 12354-62). The Harivaṁśa details the story of their origin from Ṛṣi Prabhākara of Atri's race (XXXI. 1660-68). The tribe is also mentioned in the Bhīṣma Parva list (IX. 376) of the Mahābhārata.

Bharadvājas—They are also mentioned in the Bhīṣma Parva list (IX. 376) along with the Ātreyas. References in the Great Epic (Ādi P. CXXX. 5102-6 ; CLXVI. 6328-32 ; Vana P. CXXXV, 10700-728, etc.) to Ṛṣi Bharadvāja seem to locate the tribe, who

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evidently were descended from the Ṛṣi Bharadvāja, not far from the upper regions of the Ganges near the hills.

Puṣkalas—The name of the tribe seems to connect them with Puṣkalāvatī or Puṣkarāvatī (Ram. Kiṣ. K. XLIII. 23), the old capital of Gāndhāra. The Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇas read Prasthalas. The Prasthalas were evidently people of Prasthala (Virāṭa P. XXX. 971 ; Bhīsma P. LXXV. 3296 ; Droṇa P. XVII. 691), closely connected with Trigarta and therefore located probably in the Punjab.

Kuśerukas—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Kaśerukas and Matsya Daserakas instead, but none of them can satisfactorily be identified. Daserakas are however also mentioned in the Mahābhārata (Bhīṣma P. L. 2080 ; CXVIII. 5483 ; Droṇa P. XI. 397 ; XX. 798) as joining in the Kurukṣetra war.

Lampākas—The Lampākas are described in the Mahābhārata as a mountain tribe (Droṇa, P. CXXI. 4846-7). They are identified by Cunningham with the people of Lamghāṇ situated to the north-east of Kabul (Anc. Geo. India, Majumder's Edn., pp. 49-50).

Śūlakaras—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Stanapas instead, but the name is not identifiable.

Culikas—The Matsya Purāṇa reads Sainikas, and the Vāyu Purāṇa reads Pīḍīkas instead.

Jāguḍas—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Juguḍas, the Matsya Jāṅgalas. In another place, however, the Matsya Purāṇa mentions the Jaguḍas as a people through whose country the Indus flows (CXX. 46-48).[1] But this indication is a bit too vague to admit of any

1 Pargiter, Mārk. Purāṇa p. 322 note.

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definite identification. The Jāguḍas are also mentioned in the Mahābhārata (Vana P. LI. 1991).

Aupadhas—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Apagas instead (XLV. 120). No identification is possible.

Animadras—The variant is Cānimadras or Cālimadras, as in the Vāyu Purāṇa.

Kirātas—For a full note on the Kirātas, see Indian Culture, Vol. I., No. 3, "Some Ancient Indian Tribes", pp. 381-82.

Tāmasas—The variant is Tomaras, as in the Vāyu Purāṇa (XLV. 120) and in the Mahābhārata (Bhīṣma P. IX. 377).

Haṁsamārgas—They are also mentioned in the Bhīṣma Parva list of the Mahābhārata. According to the Matsya Purāṇa, the river Pāosni flowed through the countries inhabited by Tamaras and Haṁsamārgas. The description of the Matsya Purāṇa seems to locate the two tribes in the region east of Tibet.

Kāśmīras—They are undoubtedly the people of Kāśmīr. They are also mentioned in the Bhīṣṁa Parva list (IX. 361 and 375).

Tuṅganas—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Taṅgaṇas (XLV. 120) and more than once in the Mahābhārata, as Tāṅgaṇas and Para-taṅgaṇas, (Sabhā P, LI. 1859 ; Bhīṣma P. IX. 372). According to the epic description they were allied with the Kirātas and Pulindas and lived in the kingdom (Vana P. CXL. 10863-5 ; Sabhā P. LI. 1858-59). They seem to have been a rude tribe, as their main fighting weapon was stone (Droṇa P. CXXI. 4835-7).

Śūlikas—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Cūlikas which are mentioned as a separate tribe in the Mārkaṇḍeya.

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According to the Matsya Purāṇa the river Cakṣu flowed through the country of the Śūlikas (CXX. 45, 46). In the Bṛhat Saṁhitā mention is made of a tribe called Śaulikas (XIV. 8), but there the Śaulikas are associated with Vidarbha. The Harāhā inscription of the Maukharis makes a reference to the Śūlikas who are identified by some scholars with the Cālukyas ; but that does not agree with the Paurānic description.

Kuhakas—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Āhukas or Ahukas instead. They may be the same as the Kurus of the Matsya Purāṇa who are said to have dwelt on the Indus. (CXX. 46-48).

Urṇas—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Purāṇas but none is identifiable except if we find in the Urṇas a people inhabiting the Urṇadeśa which Lassen places on the Sutlej near Garhwal. (*Ind. Alt.* map.)

Darvas—The Mahābhārata associates them with the Trigarttas, the Daradas and other northern tribes to the north of the Punjab. [1].

PRĀCYA OR EASTERN COUNTRY

....."Prācyān deśān nivodha me ।
Adhrārakā Mudakarā Antar-giryā Vahir-giraḥ ॥
Yathā Prabaṅgā Raṅgeyā Mānadā Mānavartikāḥ ।
Brahmottarāḥ Pravijayā Bhārgavā Jñeya mallakaḥ ॥
Prāgjyotiṣāśca Madrāśca Videhāstāmraliptakaḥ
Mallā Magadha-Gomantaḥ Prācyā janapadāḥ smṛtāḥ ॥
(Mār. P. 57. 42-44).

"Hear from me the peoples who inhabit the eastern countries. The Adhrārakas, the Mudakaras, the

1. See also Pargiter Mārk. P. p. 324 notes.

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Antargiryas, the Vahirgiras, and the Pravaṅgas also ; the Raṅgeyas, the Mānadas, the Mānavartikas, the Brahmottaras, the Pravijayas, the Bhārgavas, the Jñeyamallakas, the Prāgjyotisas, and the Madras and the Videhas, and the Tāmraliptakas, the Mallas, the Magadhas, the Gomantas, are known as the peoples of the East."

Adhrārakas—It is difficult to restore the correct reading. The Vāyu Purāṇa has (XLV. 122) Andhravākas.

Mudakaras—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Sujarakas and not Matsya Madgurakas instead. None of these names is identifiable, but one may guess that here is a name which is a corrupt rendering of Mudgagiri or Modagiri, mentioned in literature and inscription and identifiable with the hills of Monghyr in Bihar. Monghyr was anciently known also as Mudgala-puri, Mudgalāśrama, etc. The Mudgalas or the people of Monghyr are also referred to in the Mahābhārata (Droṇa P. XI. 397).

Antargiryas—These people must be those dwelling in the hilly stretch of the Rajmahal ranges of the Santhal Parganas. They are mentioned in the Bhīṣma Parva list of the Mahābhārata.

Bahirgiras—They must also be said to have been associated with the hilly tracts of Bihar and from their mention along with the Antargiras it seems that the people meant were dwellers on the outskirts of the hills of Bhagalpur and Monghyr regions.

Pravaṅgas—The Pravaṅgas probably stand for those people who dwelt just in front of the Vaṅgas (Pravaṅga), and they may be Aṅgas.

Raṅgeyas—This is evidently a copyist's mistake

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for Vaṅgeyas which is the reading of the Vāyu Purāṇa (XLV. 122). The Matsya Purāṇa however reads only Vaṅgas. They are undoubtedly the people of ancient Vaṅga or Bengal. For a detailed account of the tribe, see my 'Ancient Indian Tribes', Vol. II. p. 1.

Mānadas—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Māladas (XLV. 122). It is a shrewd guess of Pargiter that here we have a reference to the people of modern Maldah in which are situated the old cities of Gaur and Pandua. The Māladas are also mentioned as an eastern people in the Mahābhārata (Sabhā P. XXIX. 1081-82 ; Droṇa P. VII. 183).

Māna-vārttikas—The variants are Mālavartinaḥ (Vāyu P. XLV. 122) and Mānavarjakas (Mbh. Bhīṣma P. IX, 357) ; but none of the names is satisfactorily identifiable.

Brahmottaras—Pargiter suggests the reading Suhmotkalas[1] which is neither intended nor necessary, for evidently a better suggestion is that of the Matsya which reads Suhmottaras meaning the people who dwelt north of the Suhma country.

Pravijayas—The Bhīṣma Parva list (IX. 358) of the Mahābhārata seems to read Prāvṛṣeyas ; but none of the names is identifiable.

Bhārgavas—The Bhīṣma Parva list mentions the same people as Bhargas ; it is permissible to conjecture that they had been intimately associated with the prince Bhārga or Bhārgava who is referred to in the Harivaṁśa as having founded Bhṛgubhūmi or Bhār-

1. Mārk Purāna, p. 327 note.

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gabhūmi (XXIX. 1587 and 1597; XXXII. 1753). They were perhaps an eastern branch of the Bhaggas or Bhargas of Suṁsumāragiri.

Jñeyamallakas—The variants Geyamarthakas (Vāyu P. XLV. 123) and Gayamālavas (Matsya P. CXIII. 44), but none of these names is identifiable.

Prāgjyotiṣas—The Prāgjyotiṣas were a well-known people in both the epics; their country was a famous kingdom, evidently outside the pale of Aryandom. The Mahābhārata frankly refers to it as a *mleccha* kingdom which was ruled over by king Bhagadatta (Sabhā P. XXV. 1000-1; L. 1834; Udyoga P. CLXVI. 5804; Karṇa P. V. 104-5); in the same epic it is referred to also as an *asura* kingdom ruled over by the asuras Naraka and Muru (Vana P. XII. 488; Udyoga P. XLVII. 1887-92). It seems to have bordered on the realm of Kirātas and Cīnas (Sabhā P. XXV. 1002; Udyoga P. XVIII. 584-5). According to the *Raghuvaṁs'a* the Prāgjyotisa country lay evidently to the north of the Brahmaputra river. It therefore seems that the kingdom included not only the Kāmarūpa country but also a considerable portion of North Bengal and perhaps also of North Bihar.

Madras—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Muṇḍas instead (XLV. 123) which is certainly the more plausible reading, for the Madras cannot in any way be placed in the Eastern region. The Muṇḍas are a well-known pre-Aryan tribe, and are mentioned as such in Mahābhārata (Bhīṣma P. LVI. 2410). The Matsya Purāṇa reads Puṇḍras instead which is certainly the best reading possible here. For a detailed account of the Puṇḍras see my 'Ancient Indian Tribes,' Vol. II p. 15.).

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Videhas—Videha was a famous country from very early times ; in very early texts the country is designated as Videgha (e. g. in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa) as well. The country, according to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (I. IV. 1) was separated from Kosala by the Sadānīrā. The capital of the Videha country was Mithilā ruled over by a king named Janaka, and celebrated in both the epics epecially in the Rāmāyaṇa. Mithilā is identified by Cunningham with a small town called Janakpur not far from the Nepalese border where the two districts Darbhanga and Muzaffarpur meet (Arch. Sur. Rep, XVI. 34 and map.). The Videha country is thus identical with the northern districts of North Bihar. (Vide my "Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India," Chap. III.)

Tāmraliptakas—A variant is Tāmraliptikas. The people and the country are well-known in the Mahābhārata (Ādi P. CLXXXVI. 6993 ; Sabhā P. XXIX. 1098 ; Droṇa P. LXX. 2436). Other forms of the name are Tāmalipta or Tāmaliptaka (Vāyu P. XLV. 123) and even Dāma-lipta (Daśakumāracaritam). The country has left its trace in the modern Tamluk in Midnapur.

Mallas—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Mālas while the Matsya reads Śālvas, certainly erroneously. The people may be the same as the Māls or Mālas, an indigenous tribe now spread all over Bengal. (Vide my "Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India", Chap. IV.)

Magadhas—They were the people of the region now represented by the modern districts of Patna and

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Gaya. For an account of the Magadhas, see my 'Ancient Indian Tribes' pp. 93-175.

Gomantas—The variant readings are Govindas (Vāyu Purāṇa XLV. 123), Gonarddhas (Matsya, CXIII. 45) but none of these names is identifiable.

DAKṢIṆĀPATHA OR SOUTHERN REGION

Athāpare janapadā Dakṣiṇāpathavāsinaḥ |
Puṇḍrāśca Keralāścaiva Go-lāṅgulāstathaiva ca ||
Śailūṣā Mūṣikāścaiva kusumā nāma vāsakāḥ |
Mahārāṣṭrā Māhiṣakā Kaliṅgāścaiva sarvvaśaḥ ||
Ābhīrāḥ Sahavaiśikyā Āḍhakyā Śabarāśca ye |
Pulindā Vindhyamauleyā Vaidarbhā Daṇḍakaiḥ Saha||
Paurikā Maulikāścaiva Aśmakā Bhogabardhanāḥ |
Naiṣikāḥ Kuntalā Andhrā Udbhidā Vanadārakāḥ ||
(Mārk. P. 57. 45-48).

"Now the other peoples who dwell in the Southern Region are the Puṇḍras, the Keralas, the Golāṅgulas, also the Sailūṣas, and Mūṣikās, the Kusumas, the Nāmavāsakas, the Mahārāṣṭras, the Māhiṣakas, and Kaliṅgas on all sides, Ābhīras and Vaiśikyas, the Āḍhakyas, and the Śabaras, the Pulindas, the Vindhyā-mauleyas, the people of Vidarbha, and the Daṇḍakas, the Paurikas, and the Maulikas, the Amakas, the Bhogavardhanas, the Naiṣikas, the Kuntalas, the Andhras, the Udbhidas, the Vanadārakas, these are the peoples of the countries of the Southern Region."

Puṇḍras—It is curious that the Puṇḍras are mentioned as a people of the South, for, they are in fact an eastern people and have been already referred to as such. Both the Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇas (XLV. 124 and CXIII. 46 respectively) read Pāṇḍyas which

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is undoubtedly the correct reading. The Pāṇḍyas were a well-known Southern people with their capital at (Dakṣiṇa) Mathurā or modern Madurā. The country of the Pāṇḍyas comprised the modern districts of Madurā and Tinnevelly. The Pāṇḍyas are often mentioned in the Mahābhārata, and sometimes in the Rāmāyaṇa as well, e.g., in the Kiṣkindhyā Kāṇḍa (XLI. 15 and 25). Vide my "Ancient Indian Tribes," Vol. II., Chap. IV.

Kevalas—Evidently this is a mistake for Keralas which is the reading of the Vāyu (XLV. 124) and Matsya (CXIII. 46) Purāṇas as well as of the Bhīṣma Parva of the Mahābhārata (IX. 352 and 365). According to the Mahābhārata the Keralas seem to have been a forest tribe (Sabhā P. XXX. 1174-75). In historical times they are often associated with the Colas and Pāṇḍyas, e. g., as early as in the records of Aśoka. This is upheld by the Harivaṁśa as well (XXXII. 1836).

Go-lāṅgulas—No people of this name are known. The Matsya Purāṇa reads Colas and Kulyas (CXIII. 46), and the Vāyu Caulyas and Kulyas instead (XLV. 124). The Colas (Caulyas) were a well-known people and were famous from very early times, being mentioned as early as in the inscriptions of Aśoka, as one of the four tribes of the far south. The Kulyas are not met with anywhere ; but undoubtedly they are the same people as the Kolas mentioned more than once in the Mahābhārata (Sabhā P. XXX. 1171 ; Aśvamedha P. LXXXIII. 2476-7). But the people cannot satisfactorily be identified.

S'ailūṣas—The Vāyu (XLV. 125) and the Matsya (CXIII. 47) Purāṇās read Setukas instead ; but none

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of the names can be identified. But Pargiter's suggestion[1] that they might mean the people who lived near the Setu of Rāma is ingenious and may not altogether be improbable, specially in view of the fact that they are mentioned in connection with people of the far south.

Mūṣikas—The Matsya Purāṇa reads Sūtikas instead (CXIII. 47). The Bhīṣma Parva list reads just as in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, but elsewhere it mentions another Southern people called Mūṣakas. It is difficult to identify them.

Kusumas—The variants are Kumanas (Vāyu, XLV. 125), and Kupathas (Matsya, CXIII. 47). Pargiter suggests an identification with the Kurubas or Kurunbas[2] who were the same as the Pallavas, an important tribe of the Deccan.

Nāma-Vāsakas—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads (XLV. 125) Vanavāsikas, and the Bhīṣma Parva list Vanavāsakās (IX. 366) which is undoubtedly the correct reading. Doubtless they refer to the people of the kingdom of Vanavāsī, a well-known region of the South in historical times, and not unknown to the author of the Harivaṁśa (XCV. 5213 and 5231-3). The Matsya Purāṇa reads Vāji-Vāsikas (CXIII. 47) which is apparently incorrect.

Maharāṣtras—The well-known people of Mahārāṣṭra country, identical with the Rathikas and Mahāraṭhis of early inscriptions. In the 7th century A. D. the celebrated Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang visited the Mahārāṣṭra country. The Matsya Purāṇa reads

1 Märk. P. 332, note.
2 Ibid. P. 332, note.

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Nava-rāṣṭras (CXIII. 47), a people located by the Mahābhārata near the land of the Kurus (Sabhā P XXX. 1110 ; Virāṭa P. I, 11-12).

Māhiṣakas—Or the Māhiṣikas (Matsya P. CXIII. 47). Doubtless they are identical with the Māhiṣmakas of the Mahābhārata (Aśvamedha P. LXXXIII. 2475-7), the people of Māhīṣmatī or Māndhātā, identical with modern Maheśvara or the Narmadā. Māhīṣmatī was an ancient and famous city (Mbh. Sabhā P. XXX. 1125-63), and was the border city whence began the western country (*Māhīṣmatyā paratah pascāddes'a*). In the Sutta-Nīpāta commentary Māhīṣmati is mentioned as an important city (Vol. II. p. 583).

Kalingas—The Kalingas in ancient historical tradition in the Purāṇas as well as in the epics are always associated with the Aṅgas and Vaṅgas. According to the Harivaṁśa the Kaliṅgas along with the Aṅgas, Vaṅgas, Suhmas and Puṇḍras are said to have been descended from five eponymous brothers (Mbh. Ādi. P. CIV. 4217-21 ; Hariv. XXXI. 1684-93). The Mahābhārata tells us that the river Vaitaraṇī flowed through the country (Ādi. P. CCXV. 7820-24) and the Mahendra mountains were within its southern limits (Raghu V. IV. 38). Kaliṅga thus seems to have been conterminous with modern Orissa within the district of Ganjam.

Ābhīras—The Ābhīras of the Deccan must be a branch of the northern tribe of the same name. (For the migration of the tribe to different regions in the north and south see my Ancient Indian Tribes, Vol. II., pp. 51-54). The Matsya Purāṇa reads Kāruṣas instead, the same as Karuṣas (For Kārūṣas or Karūṣas, see my 'Ancient Indian Tribes', Vol. II, pp. 31-33).

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Vais'ikyas—The variants are Eṣikas (Vāyu P. XLV. 126) and Aiṣīkas (Matsya P. CXIII. 48); but it is difficult to identify them.

Ādhakyas—The Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇas (XLV. 126 and CXIII. 48 respectively) read Āṭavyas which is no doubt the correct reading. Āṭavī as a city of the Deccan is mentioned in the Mahābhārata (Sabhā P. XXX. 1176). The Āṭavyas were certainly the same as the Āṭavikas of the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta, who were perhaps aboriginal tribes dwelling in the jungle tracts of Central India.

S'abaras—Admittedly they were an aboriginal tribe mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa (Ādi K. I, 59; Araṇya K. LXXVII. 6-32) as well as in the Mahābhārata (Śānti P. LXV. 2429; CLXVIII. 6294-6303; CLXXII. 6445) as living in the forest regions of Central India and the Deccan. The Śabaras can still be found in the interiors of Orissa as well as in those of Central India and the Deccan under the names of Sabar, Saur, etc. (For references to the tribe see Indian Culture, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 305). They are almost always associated with such rude non-Aryan tribes as the Pulindas, Mutibas, Ābhīras, Pukkusas etc.

Pulindas—The Pulindas are referred to in the Purāṇas as dwelling in the northern and western regions as well. Apparently they were a rude non-Aryan tribe scattered in different parts of India. The Pulindas of the Dakṣiṇāpatha were probably an offshoot of the northern Pulindas. (For a detailed account of the tribe see Indian Culture, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 383-4). For an origin of the Pulindas, Vide Mahāvaṁśa (P. T. S.) p. 69.

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Vindhya-mauleyas—The Matsya Purāṇa erroneously reads Vindhya-puṣikas (CXIII. 48), but the Vāyu reads Vindhyamūlīkas (XLV. 126). No particular people of the name are known, but the name may mean the "peeple who live at the foot of the Vindhyas."

Vidarbhas—The Vidarbhas were a famous people and known from very early times ; their country was one of the most renowned kingdoms in the Deccan. In the time of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 34), Bhīma was the king of Vidarbha. The country is also mentioned in the Jāiminīya Brāhmaṇa (II, 440 ; Ved. Ind. II, 297) as also in a number of Jātakas. It seems to have been one of the earliest Aryan kingdoms in the Deccan. According to the Paurānic account of the Yādavas, Vidarbha, the eponymous leader of the Vidarbhas was a Yādava (Matsya. XLIV. 36 ; Vāyu, 95. 35-36). According to the Mahābhārata (III. 73. 1-2) as well as the Harivaṁśa (Viṣṇu Parva, 60) Kuṇḍiṇa, represented by the modern town of Kauṇḍinyapura in Amaraoti, on the banks of the Vardhā, was the capital of the Vidarbha country. Its most famous king, according to epic tradition (Mbh. Vana P. CXVII. 6590-1) was Bhīsmaka.

Daṇḍakas—They are undoubtedly the people dwelling in the Daṇḍaka forests, made famous in the Rāmāyaṇa in connection with the story of Rāmā's exile. According to the description as given in the Rāmāyaṇa, the forest seems to have covered almost the whole of Central India from the Bundelkhand region to the Godāvarī (J. R. A. S., 1894, p. 241 ; cf. Fausboll, Jātaka, Vol. V, p. 29), but the Mahābhārata seems to limit the Daṇḍaka forset to the source of the

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Godāvarī (Sabhā P. XXX. 1169 ; Vana P. LXXXV. 8183-4).

Paurikas—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Paunikas instead (XLV. 127), perhaps erroneously. According to the Harivaṁśa, Purikā was a city in the Māhiṣmatī kingdom (XCV. 5220-8). It is not improbable that Purikā was the city of the Paurikas.

Maulikas—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Maunikas (XLV. 127) instead ; the Sabhā Parva of the Mahābhārata refers to a people named Mauleyas. The Maulikas were evidently the people of Mūlaka mentioned in the Pārāyaṇavagga of the Sutta Nipāta. (For an account of the Mūlakas, see my 'Ancient Indian Tribes', Vol. II, p. 26).

Aśmakas—They are a famous ancient Indian tribe referred to in ancient Greek accounts and Sanskrit and Pāli literature. (For a full account of the tribe, see my 'Ancient Indian Tribes', p. 86).

Bhogavardhanas—The tribe cannot satisfactorily be identified. Bhogavaḍham occurs in the Barhut Inscriptions (Vide Barua and Sinha, Barhut Inscriptions, p. 15.).

Naiṣikas—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Nairṇikas (XLV. 127) but none of these names can be identified. Pargiter suggests an identification with the Nāsikyas or the people of Nasik, mentioned in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (LVIII. 24).

Kuntalas—The Kuntalas were a well-known people of the South, mentioned in the Mahābhārata (Bhīṣma P. IX. 367 ; Karṇa P. XX. 779) as well as in inscriptions. They occupied a region almost conterminous with the Kanarese districts.

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Andhras—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Andhras instead (XLV. 127) which is undoubtedly the correct reading. They were a famous and well-known people who founded a kingdom in the third century A. D. In very early times they seem to have been rude people (Sabhā P. IV. 119; XXX. 1175; Vana P. LI. 1988), and were probably non-Aryans, for they are always mentioned with such tribes as the Pulindas, Śabaras, Kirātas, Ābhiras, etc.

Udbhidas—The tribe cannot be identified.

Vana-dārakas—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Nala-Kālikas (XLV. 127). The tribe cannot be identified.

APARĀNTA OR WESTERN COUNTRY

.....Aparāntān nivodha me।
Sūryārakāḥ Kālivalā Durgāścānikataiḥ saha ॥
Pulindāśca Sumīnāśca Rūpapāḥ Svāpadaiḥ saha।
Tathā Kuruminaścaiva Sarvve caiva Kaṭhākṣarāḥ ॥
Nāsikyāvāśca ye c'ānye ye caivottaranarmmadāḥ।
Bhīrukacchā samāheyāḥ saha Sārasvataīrapi ॥
Kāśmīrāśca Surāṣṭrāśca Āvantyāścārbudaiḥ saha।
Ityete hyaparāntāḥ.....

(Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, 57, 49-52)

Hear from me the names of the Western peoples: the Sūryārakas, the Kālibalas and the Durgas, and the Anikaṭas, and the Pulindas, and the Sumīnas, the Rūpapās, and the Svāpadas, and the Kuruminās, and all the Kaṭhākṣaras, and the others who are called Nāsikyavas and the others who live on the north bank of the Narmadā the Bhirukacchas, and the Maheyas, and the Sārasvatas also and the Kāśmīras, and the

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Surāṣṭras, and the Āvantyas and the Arbudas also. These are the western people."

(Pargiter, *Mārk P.*, pp. 328-40).

Suryārakas—Doubtless this is a misreading for Śūrpārakas. The Śūrpāraka country was known from very early times, and is celebrated in the Mahābhārata in connection with the legend of Rāma Jāmadagnya (Vana P. LXXXV. 8185). There it is located in the western region, but some passages seem to locate it in the south as well (Sabhā P. XXX. 1169, Vana P. LXXXVIII. 8337). This does not mean that there were two Śūrpārakas ; the fact is that the situation of Śūrpāraka has been interpreted in some passages as west and in other passages as south, because it was near the southern sea in the western region. According to the same tradition the country was situated on the sea near Prabhāṣa (Vana P. CXVIII, 10221-7) identical with modern Somanath in Kathiawar. The city of Śūrpāraka, identical with the modern town of Sopārā near Bassein, is said to have been founded by Rāma Jāmadagnya (Hariv. XCVI. 5300).

Kālivalas—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Kolavanas (XLV. 128), but none of the names is identifiable.

Durga—The Bhīṣma Parva list (IX. 359) of the Mahābhārata gives a similar name, Durgalas, but the names are not identifiable.

Anīkalās—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Kolavanas (XLV. 128) but the names are not identifiable.

Pulindas—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Puleyas (XLV. 129) and Matsya Kulīyas (CXIII. 49). These names are not identifiable. For the Pulindas, however, see note on the tribe above.

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Sumīnas—The Vāyu Purāṇa (XLV. 129) reads Surālas and the Matsya Sirālas (CXIII. 49). None of these names are identifiable.

Rūpapaś—The variants are Rūpasas (Vāyu, XLV. 129 ; Matsya, CXIII. 49) and Rupavāhikas (Bhīṣma P. IX. 351). They are not identifiable.

Svāpadas—The Vāyu and Matsya read Tāpasas (XLV. 129 ; CXIII. 49 respectively). They are not identifiable.

Kurumins—The variants are Turasitas (Vāyu, XLV. 129), Taittirikas (Matsya, CXIII. 49) which is almost similar to Tittiras (Bhīṣma P. L. 2084). They cannot be identified.

Nāsikyavas—The Nāsikyas are certainly the people of Nāsik. The Matsya Purāṇa reads Vāsikas which is evidently a mistake.

Kathākṣaras—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Pārakṣaras (XLV. 129) and the Matsya Kāraṣkaras (CXIII. 49). They are not identifiable.

Bhīrukacchas—The Matsya Purāṇa reads *Bhārukacchas* (CXIII. 50) who are the same people, namely the Bhṛgukacchaṣ of Sanskrit literature. Bhṛgukaccha, Bharukaccha, Bhīrukaccha are all identifiable with the modern Broach or Bharuch which is the Barygaza of early Greek geographers.

Māheyas—They must have been the people dwelling along the banks of the Māhi. The Māheyas are the same as the Māhikas of the Bhīsma Parva list (IX. 354).

Sārasvatas—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Sahasas and Sāśvatas instead (XLV. 130) ; but these names are not identifiable. The Sārasvatas are of course the

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people dwelling along the Sarasvatī, the river that flows into the sea past Prabhāsa, i. e. modern Somnath (Vana P. LXXXII. 5002-4 ; Śalya P. XXXVI. 2048-51).

Kāśmīras—Evidently it is a misreading, for the Kāśmīras can in no way be located in the western region. The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Kacchviyas (XLV. 131) and the Matsya Kacchikas (CXIII. 51) ; these are undoubtedly the correct readings and mean the people of Kaccha or Cutch.

Surāṣṭras—The Surāṣṭras are frequently mentioned in the Mahābhārata, and were a famous people. (For an account of the tribe see my Ancient Indian Tribes, Vol. II., pp. 23 ff.).

Avantyas—They are undoubtedly the people of Avantī (For an account of the tribe, see my 'Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes', Vol. I., pp. 139-155). But the reading as given in the Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇas (XLV. 131 and CXIII. 51 respectively) is perhaps better. They read Ānarta whose capital was Dvārakā or Dvārāvati, the modern Dwarka on the sea-shore. (Sānti P. CCCXLI. 12955 ; Hariv. CXIII. 6265-6).

Arbudas—They must have been the people dwelling on the mount Arbuda which is the ancient name for Mount Abu.

PEOPLES AND COUNTRIES OF THE VINDHYAN REGION

.....Śṛṇu Vindhyanivāsinaḥ ॥
Sarajāśca Karūṣāśca Keralāścotkalaiḥ saha ।
Uttamarṇā Daśārṇāśca Bhojyāḥ Kiṣkindhakaiḥ saha ॥

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Tosalāḥ Kośalāścaiva Traipurā Vaidiśastathā ।
Tumburāstumbulāścaiva Paṭavo Naiṣadhaiḥ saha ॥
Annajāstuṣṭikārāśca Vīrahotrāhyavantayaḥ ।
Ete janapadāḥ Sarve Vindhyapṛṣṭhanivāsinaḥ ॥
(Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, 57. 52-55.)

"Hear the inhabitants of the Vindhya Mountains. The Sarajas, and Karūṣas, and the Keralas, and Utkalas, the Uttamarṇas, and the Daśārṇas, the Bhojyas, and the Kiṣkindhakas, the Tośalas, and the Kośalas, the Traipuras and the Vaidiśas, the Tumburas, and the Tumbulas, the Paṭus and the Naiṣadhas, Annajas, and the Tuṣṭikāras, the Vīrahotras and the Avantis. All these people dwell on the slopes of the Vindhya Mountains."

(Pargiter, Mārk. P. pp. 340-44).

Sarajas—The Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇa read Mālavas (XLV. 132 and CXIII. 52 respectively), which no doubt is the correct reading. The Mālavas, it is well-known, had settlements in different parts of India (For an account of the tribe see my *Ancient Indian Tribes*, Vol. II, pp. 37 ff.) ; the tribe referred to here may probably mean that branch of the Mālavas which settled in and around that portion of Malwa which borders on the Vindhyas. The Mālavas are again and again mentioned in the Mahābhārata (Sabhā P. XXXIII. 1270, LI. 1871 ; Vana P. CCLIII. 15256, etc.).

Karūṣas—They are the same as the Kārūṣas, and Kāruṣakas (For an account of the tribe, see my 'Ancient Indian Tribes', Vol. II, pp. 31-33).

Keralas—This is undoubtedly wrong, for the Keralas cannot in any way be placed on the slopes of

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the Vindhyas, they being a people of the far South. The Vāyu (XLV. 132) and the Matsya Purāṇas (CXIII. 52) read Mekalas which seems to be the correct reading. The Mekalas are those people who dwelt on the Mekala hills and the country around. They are coupled in early Indian literature and inscriptions either with the Ambaṣṭhas or with the Utkalas. (Bhīṣma P. IX. 348; Droṇa P. IV. 122 etc.). (For an account of the tribe see my Ancient Indian Tribes, Vol. II., p. 28.).

Utkalas—They were a well-known people in ancient India though they are not often mentioned in the epics. According to the Raghuvaṁśa (IV. 38), their territory bordered in the east on the river Kapiśā, probably the modern Kasai in Midnapur. Utkala seems to have comprised the southern portion of Chotanagpur and almost the whole of the modern province of Orissa except Purī and Cuttack.

Uttamarṇas—The Matsya Purāṇa reads Auṇḍramāṣas (CXIII. 52) but none of these names are identifiable. The Uttamarṇas are however presumably the Uttamas of Bhīṣma Parva list (IX. 348) of the Mahābhārata.

Das'ārṇas—They are evidently the people of the country watered by the river of the same name identified with the modern Dasan, a tributary of the Jumna. The capital of the country was Vidiśā, situated on the river Vetravatī, the modern Betwa. The people and their kingdom are referred to frequently in the Mahābhārata (Ādi. P. CXIII. 4449; Vana P. LXIX. 2707-8; Udyoga P. CXC-CXCIII; Bhīṣma P. IX. 348, 350, 363. Vide also my 'Ancient Indian Tribes', Vol. II., pp. 29-30).

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Bhojyas—The Vāyu (XLV. 132) and Matsya Purāṇas (CXIII. 52) read Bhojas which is undoubtedly a better and more probable reading. It is well-known that the Bhojas who are frequently mentioned in the Mahābhārata (Vana P. XIV. 629, XX. 791, CXVI. 10172-6, CCLIII. 15245; Mausala P. VII. 244-45; Hariv. XXXVII. 1980-87, etc.) were a Yādava tribe and dwelt in North-eastern Gujrat. The Bhojas referred to here may have been a branch of the main tribe inhabiting the western slopes of the Vindhyas. (For further details regarding the tribe see my "Some Ancient Indian Tribes," Indian Culture, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 384-86).

Kiṣkindhakas—It is doubtful that they are identical with the people of Kiṣkindhyā mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa, for Kiṣkindhyā of Rāmāyaṇa was situated far below in the South. In the circumstances it is not easy to identify the tribe.

Tosalas—The Matsya Purāṇa reads Stosalas (CXIII. 53) evidently erroneously, for Tosalas is correct reading meaning the people of Tosali or Tosala and the adjoining region. Tosali or Tosala was name of a country as well as of a city. The city of Tosali was the seat of the provincial government of Kaliṅga in the days of Aśoka; while the country or janapada of "Amita-Tosala" is referred to in the Gaṇḍavyūha [1] along with its city Tosala. In Pauranic literature, Tosala is always associated with Dakṣiṇa Kosala, and distinguished from Kaliṅga. Tosala in mediæval times seems to have been divided into two parts:

1 Levi, *Pre-Aryan et Pre-Dravidian l 'Inde*, J. A.' Jul.—Sept. 1923.

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Dakṣiṇa Tosala and Uttara Tosala (Ep. Ind. IX. 286; XV. 3). The city of Tosala seems to have been the same as Tosalei of Ptolemy.

Kosalas—These are undoubtedly the people of Mahā-Kosala or Dakṣiṇa-Kosala, well-known in early literature and inscriptions. Vide my 'Ancient Indian Tribes', pp. 34-85.

Traipuras—They are the people of Tripurī or Tripura which was both a city and a country. The city of Tripurī was the capital of the Cedi kingdom. It was a well-known city that derived its name from three cities or *tri-pura* once in possession of the asuras (Sabhā P. XXX. 1164; Vana P. CCLIII. 15246; Karṇa P. XXXIII. and XXXIV). In the time of the Guptas Tripuri-visaya was formed into a province under a viceroy; it roughly corresponded to the modern Jubbulpur region which was the ancient Cedi country.

Vaidiśas—These are undoubtedly the people of Vidiśā, a famous city of early times, the capital of the Daśārṇa country, both immortalised by Kālidāsa in his Meghadūtam. Vidiśā is probably the modern Bes-nagar, close to Bhilsa; it was situated on the river Vetravatī, modern Betwa.

Tumburas and Tumbulas—The Matsya Purāṇa reads Tumburas (CXIII. 53) and the Bhīṣma Parva gives (L. 2084) Tumbumas. Closely allied to them were probably the Tumbulas where the Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇas read Tumuras and Tumbaras respectively. These names cannot be identified.

Patus—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Ṣaṭsuras (XLV. 133) and Matsya Padgamas (CXIII. 53). None of these names are identifiable.

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Naiṣadhas—or Nisadhas, the people of Niṣadha. (For an account of the tribe, see my 'Ancient Indian Tribes', Vol. II., pp. 63 ff.).

Annajas—Evidently this, and the Matsya Purāṇa reading of Arūpas (CXIII. 54), are erroneous. The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Anūpas (XLV. 134) which undoubtedly is correct. The country of the Anūpas must have been situated somewhere on the sea. King Kārttavīrya (Vana P. CXVI. 10189-90) as well as king Nala lorded over the Anūpa country (Bhīṣma P. XCV. 4210) which is probably to be sought for somewhere near Surāṣṭra and Ānarta with which the Harivaṁśa associates Anūpa (XCIV. 5142-80). Evidently the country was included within the sphere of the Māhiṣmatī.

Tuṣṭikāras—Doutless it is a misreading. The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Tuṇḍikeras (XLV. 134) which is supported by the Mahābhārata (Droṇa P. XVII. 691 ; Karṇa P. V. 138) and the Harivaṁśa (XXXIV. 1895). According to the Harivaṁśa, they belonged to the Haihaya race (ibid). The tribe seems to have left their trace in the little town of Tendukhera, a little to the north of the source of the Narmadā (Pargiter, Mārk. P. p. 344 note). The Matsya Purāṇa reading of Sauṇḍikeras is incorrect.

Vīrahotras—The Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇas read Vītihotras (XLV. 134 ; CXIII. 54) which is undoubtedly correct. Presumably they were descended from king Vītihotra and were a branch of the Haihaya race (Hariv. XXXIV. 1895). A variant of their name is given in the Droṇa Parva of the Mahābhārata (LXX. 2436). The name Vīrahotra or Varahotra is met with in the Sāñci Inscriptions of the 2nd century B. C.

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Avantis—They were an important tribe in ancient India who had their capital at Ujjain. (For a fuller account of the tribe, see my 'Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes', Vol. I., pp. 139-155).

PARVATĀŚRAYIN OR THE PEOPLE OF THE MOUNTAIN (OR HIMĀLAYAN) REGION

Ato dēsān pravakṣyāmi parvvatāśrayiṇaśca ye ।
Nīhārā Haṁsamārgāśca Kuravo gurgaṇāḥ Khasāḥ ॥
Kunta-Prāvaraṇāścaiva Ūrṇā Dārvvā Sakṛtrakāḥ ।
Trigarttā Mālavāscaiva Kirātāstāmasaiḥ saha ॥
(Mārk. P. Chap. 57, 56-57).

"Next I will tell you also the names of the countries which rest against the Mountains (i. e., the countries of the Himālayan region). The Nīhāras, and the Haṁsamārgas, the Kurus, the Gurgaṇas, the Khasas, and the Kunta-prāvaraṇas, the Urṇas, the Dārvas, the Sakṛtrakas, the Trigarttas, the Gālavas, the Kirātas and the Tāmasas."
(Pargiter, Mārk. P., pp. 345-47).

Nīhāras—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Nigarharas (XLV. 135) and the Matsya Nirāhāras (CXIII. 55). None of these names are identifiable ; but Nihāras may generally mean those people dwelling on the snowy (nīhāra) slopes of the Himālayas.

Haṁsamārgas—They cannot satisfactorily be identified.

Kurus—These must be the Uttara Kurus, a semi-mythical country referred to frequently in both the epics as well as in early Pāli literature. Their country cannot definitely be identified, but presumably it was

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somewhere beyond Kasmir on the other side of the Himālayas.

Gurgaṇas—The Matsya Purāṇa reads A-pathas (CXIII. 55). But none of them can be identified.

Khasas—The Khasas presumably a non-Aryan tribe, and foreign as well. In the epic tradition the Khasas are associated with Sakas, Daradas etc. (Sabhā P. LI. 1859 ; Droṇa P. XI. 399 ; and CXXI. 4846-47), and were considered *mlecchas* (Hariv. XCV. 6440-41 ; XIV. 784).

Kunta-prāvaraṇas—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Kuṣa-prāvaraṇas (XLV. 136). The Mahābhārata often (e.g., Sabhā P. LI. 1875 ; Bhīṣma P. LI. 2103) speaks of a people called Karṇa-prāvarṇas who probably are meant. But they cannot definitely be identified.

Urṇas—They have already been mentioned as a northern people.

Dārvas—They have also been mentioned as a northern people.

Sakṛtrakas—Perhaps the Śakridgrahas of the Bhīṣma Parva list (IX. 373) are meant. They were a rude non-Aryan tribe, but they cannot definitely be identified.

Trigarttas—For a full account of the tribe, see my 'Ancient Indian Tribes', Vol. II., pp. 55 ff.

Gālavas—They were probably those people who claimed their descent from sage Gālava, but they cannot be definitely identified.

Kirātas—They were a rude non-Aryan tribe distributed in different regions of India. (For a full account of the tribe see *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, no. 3. pp. 381-82, my article on "Some Ancient Indian Tribes").

Tāmasas—They have already been mentioned as a northern people, but cannot satisfactorily be identified.

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COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES OF INDIA ARRANGED ACCORDING TO THE POSITION OF THE KŪRMA

Here we practically come to an end of the geographical (i.e. Navakhaṇḍa) Canto (i. e. Chap. 57) of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, which in fact contains the strictly geographical information of other major Purāṇas. But the Mārkaṇḍeya has also another section (Chap. 58, i. e., the Kūrmavibhāga or the Kūrmanivāsa) containing a list of countries and peoples of India arranged according to the position of the country conceived as a tortoise as it lies on the water resting upon Viṣṇu and looking eastwards. This arrangement is based, on earlier astronomical works like those of Parāśara and Varāhamihira. This chapter though not strictly geographical contains valuable topographical information. Most of these countries and peoples have already been mentioned in the Navakhaṇḍa section but there are good many names which are new, though quite a number of them cannot be satisfactorily identified. Here I propose to deal with only the additional names of peoples and countries mentioned in the Kūrma Vibhāga.

(a) *In the middle of the Tortoise*

The Vedamantras and the Vimāṇḍavyas cannot satisfactorily be identified.

Śālvas, Sālyas and Śālveyas are one and the same people, and are frequently mentioned in the Mahābhārata, where their location is suggested to have been near the Kurus and Trigarttas (Virāṭā P. I. 11-12 ; XXX). The story of Satyavān, a Śalya (or Śālva) prince and Sāvitrī, a Madra princess, is quite well-

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known. In the time of the Kurukṣetra war the Sālva king was an important personage, a brother of King Śiśupāla of Cedi (Hariv. CVIII. 6029, Vana P. XIV. 620-7). The Śālvas seem to have occupied some region west of the Aravalli hills and not very far from Kṛṣṇa's country, for, in the Harivaṁśa the Śālva king is said to have once attacked Dvārāvatī, but was killed by Kṛṣṇa in retaliation (Droṇa P. XI. 395).

It is difficult to say where the Nīpas had their habitat : but one can gather that they descended from king Nīpa, a Paurava, who had his capital in Kāmpilya, modern Kampil on the Ganges (Mbh. Ādi. P. CXXXVIII. 5512-13 ; Matsya P. XLIX. 52 and 53 ; Hariv. XX. 1060-73). Later, they came to be regarded as degraded (Sabhā. P. XLIX. 1804 ; L. 1844).

The Śakas were a well-known foreign tribe, classed with the Yavanas, Kambojas, Pahlavas, Tukhāras, Khasas, etc., and considered mlecchas in Indian historical tradition as contained in the Epics and Purāṇas.

Ujjihānas are difficult to be identified ; but Pargiter suggests their probable association with Urjihāna, a town situated south-east of Hastināpur, identical probably with Ujhani about 11 miles south-west of Budaon.

The Ghoṣa-Sāṁkhyas cannot be identified.

Dharmāraṇya is to be identified with a forest near Gayā (Vana P. LXXXIV. 8063-4 ; Anuśāsana P. XXV. 1744 ; CLXV. 7655 ; Vana P. LXXXVII. 8304 8).

The Jyotiṣikas and the Gauragrīvas cannot be satisfactorily identified, nor can we identify definitely

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the Saṅketas, the Kaṅkas, the Mārutas, the Kāla-Koṭiṣas, the Pāṣaṇḍas, and the Kapiṅgalas.

The Kuruvāhyas must necessarily include the Kurus, but it is difficult to say who are the other races meant.

The Uḍumbaras are certainly the Audumbaras of the Mahābhārata (Sabhā P. LI. 1869). Lassen identifies Uḍumbara country with Cutch (Ind. Att. map.) ; but this is doubtful, for, here they are placed in the Madhyadeśa. There was a river Uḍumbarāvatī in the South (Hariv. CLXVIII. 9511).

The Gajāhvayas are the same as the people of Hastināpura which is also known as Gajapura, Gajā-hvaya, Gajasāhvaya, Nāgapura, Nāgasāhvaya, Vāraṇāhvaya and Vāraṇa-sāhvaya, in the Mahābhārata. All the names are coined by playing on the meaning of the word 'hasti', i. e. elephant.

(b) *In the face of the Tortoise*

The Vadana-danturas, the Candreśvaras, the cannibals dwelling on the sea-coast, and the Ekapādapas cannot be identified.

The Subhras were the same people as the Suhmas.

The mention of the Khaśas as situated in different parts of the Tortoise's body suggests that the tribe, a mlecchа one, was distributed over different localities of India ; so with the Ābhiras and similar tribes.

The Lauhityas are certainly those people dwelling along the Lauhitya river, i. e. the Brahmaputra. This is further supported by the fact that they are mentioned just after the Prāgjyotiṣas.

The Kaśāyas probably mean the people of Kāśī, if so they are certainly misplaced here.

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The Mekhalāmuṣtas is a curious reading; almost certainly it stands for the Mekalas and the Aṁbaṣṭhas, mixed up by the copyist in a curious compound. For an account of the two tribes see my 'Ancient Indian Tribes', Vol. II. pp. 28 and 34-36).

The Vardhamānas are certainly the people who lived in the ancient *visaya* or *bhūkti* of Vardhamāna identical with modern Burdwan.

(c) *In the Tortoise's fore-foot*

The Jaṭharas, the Mṛṣikas, the Ūrdhva-Karṇas, the Nārikelas, the Dharmadvīpas, the Elikas, the Vyāghr-agrīvas, the Mahāgrīvas, the Haimakūṭas (the Himālayas cannot be meant here) and the Kākulālakas cannot be identified; some of these names are indeed fanciful.

The Kaṭakasthalas are indeed the people of Kaṭaka (modern Cuttack).

The naked Hārikas may mean the Hāḍis of modern times, an aboriginal tribe, now found scattered all over Western Bengal and Orissa.

The Niṣādas were an aboriginal race dwelling generally in forest tracts. (For an account of the tribe, see my 'Ancient Indian Ṭribes', Vol. II., pp. 63-64).

The Parṇa-śavaras were evidently a branch of the Savaras who lived on leaves or who wore leaves.

(d) *In the Tortoise's right flank*

Laṅkā is Ceylon.

The Kālājinas, the Śailikas, the Nikaṭas, the Sarvas, the Ākaṇin people, the Gonarddhas, the Kolagiras, those who inhabit Carmapaṭṭa, the Ganavāhyas, the

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Paras, the Vāricaras, those who have their dwelling in Kṛṣṇadvīpa, the peoples who live by the Sūrya hill and the Kumuda hill, the Aukhāvanas, the Piśikas, the Karma-nāyakas, the Tāpasāśramas, and the people who dwell in Kuñjara-dari.

The Dāśapuras are the people of Daśapura (or Mandasor), the capital of king Ranti-deva (Megha D. I., 46-48).

The Citrakūṭas are the people living on the mount Citrakūṭa, still known by the same name.

The Southern Kaurūsas were a branch of the Kāruṣa or Karūṣa race already discussed.

The Ṛṣabhas are the people dwelling on the Ṛṣabha parvata identified with the southern portion of the Eastern Ghats.

Kāñci is modern Conjeeveram.

Tilaṅgas should properly be read as Tailaṅgas or Tri-liṅgas, people of Teliṅga or the modern Telugu country.

Kaccha, the same as Kochchi, the modern Cochin in Travancore.

Tāmraparṇī is the land perhaps on both sides of the river of the same name in the extreme south. There is also a town of the same name in Ceylon which itself is also sometimes known as Tāmraparṇi.

(*e*) *In the Outer foot*

The Vaḍavā-mukhas, the Vanitā-mukhas, the Drāvaṇas, the Sārgigas, the Karṇa-prādheyas, the Pāraśavas (perhaps those who claimed descent from Paraśurāma), the Kalas, the Dhūrtakas, the Haimagirikas, the Sindhukālakavairatas and the Mahārṇavas cannot be satisfactorily identified.

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(f) *In the Tortoise's tail*

The Śāntikas, the Viprasastakas, the Kokaṅkaṇas, the Pañcadakas, the Vamanas, the Avaras, the Tārakṣuras, the Aṅgatakas, the Śarkaras, the Śālma-vesmakas, the Guru-svaras (evidently a branch of the Savaras), the Phalguṇakas, the Ghoras, the Guruhas, the Kalas, the Ekekṣaṇas, the Vāji-keśas, the Dīrgha-grīvas and the Aśva-keśas cannot be satisfactorily identified.

(g) *In the Tortoise's left hind foot*

The Māṇḍavyas (probably those who claimed descent from sage Māṇḍavya), the Caṇḍakhāras, the Aśvakalantakas, the Kunyatāladahas, the Strīvāhyas, the Bālikas, the Nṛsimhas, the people who dwell in Valāva, the Dharmabaddhas, the Alūkas (probably the Ulūkas), and the people who occupy Urukarma cannot be satisfactorily identified.

The Bālikas are evidently the Bāhlikas.

(h) *In the Tortoise's left flank*

The Kraũñcas, the Vakas, the Kṣudravīṇas, the Rasālayas, the Bhogaprasthas (perhaps Bhojaprastha = Bhojanagara, the capital of king Uśīnara), the Agñijyas, the Sārdana peoples, the Aśvamukhas, the Prāptas, the Civiḍas, the Dāserakas, the Adhama-Kairātas, the Ambālas, the Veṇukas, the Vadantikas, the Piṅgalas, the Mānakalahas, the Kohalakas, the Bhūti-yuvakas, the Śātakas, the Hema-tārakas, the Yaśomatyas, the Kharasāgarā-rāśis, the Dāsameyas, the Rājanyas, the Śyāmakas, and the Kṣemadhūrtas cannot be satisfactorily identified.

Yāmunas—They are the people who dwelt along the Jamunā.

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Antar-dvīpa is the same as the Antar-vedi, the land between the Ganges and the Jamunā.

For an account of the Yaudheyas, see my 'Ancient Indian Tribes', Vol. II, pp. 43-44.

(i) *In the Tortoise's north-east foot*

The Yenas, the Kiṁnaras, the country Praśupāla, the country Kīcaka, the Davadas, the Vana-rāṣṭrakas, the Sairiṣṭhas, the Brahmapurakas, the Vana-vāhyakas, the Kauśikas, the Ānandas, the Lolanas, the Dāravādas, the Marakas, the Kuruṭas, the Annadārakas, the Eka-pādas, the Ghoṣas, the Svargabhaumāna-vadyakas, the Hiṅgas, the Cīraprāvaraṇas and the Trinetras cannot satisfactorily be identified.

The Abhisāras are the people of the Abhisāra country, the Abhisaras of early Greek geographers, a people of the Punjab. Their capital Abhisāri is mentioned in the Mahābhārata (Sabhā P. XXVI. 1097 ; Bhīṣma P. IX. 361).

The Kulaṭas are evidently the Kuluṭas, presumbly the people of the Kulu valley.

The Pauravas are evidently those who claimed descent from Puru, a son of Yayāti. The Pauravas had different settlements (Cf. Mbh. Sabhā P. XXVI. 1022-25 ; Śānti P. XLIX. 1790-92 ; Ādi. P. CLXXXVI. 6995).

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APPENDIX

CHAPTFR VII

Full list of countries and peoples of India mentioned in the Kūrmavibhāga.

(a) In the middle of the tortoise are placed the following countries and peoples :

The Vedamantras, Vimāṇavyas, Śālvas, Nīpas, Śakas, Ujjihānas, Ghoṣa-sāṁkhyas, Khaśas, Sārasvatas, Matsyas, Śūrasenas, people of Mathurā, Dharmāraṇyas, Jyotiṣikas, Gauragrīvas, Guḍas, Aśmakas, Vaidehakas, Pāñcālas, Saṅketas, Kaṇkas, Mārutas, Kālakoṭisas, Pāṣaṇḍas, inhabitants of the Pāripātra mountains, Kāpiṅgalas, Kuruvāhyas Uḍumbaras and the Gajāhvayas.

(b) In the face of the tortoise are situated the following countries and peoples :

The people of Mithilā, the Subhras, Vadanadanturas, Candreśvaras, Khaśas, Magadhas, Prāgjyotisas, and the Lauhityas, the Cannibals who dwell on the sea-coast, Kaṣagas, Mekhalāmuṣṭas, Tāmraliptas, Ekapādapas, Vardhamānas, and the Kośalas.

(c) The following countries and people are situated in the Tortoise's right fore-foot :

The Kaliṅgas, Vaṅgas, Jaṭharas, Kośalas, Mṛṣikas, Cedis, Urdhvakaraṇas, Matsyas, others who dwell on the Vindhya mountains, Vidarbhas, Nārikelas, Dharmadvīpas, Elikas, Vyāghragrīvas, Mahāgrīvas, the bearded Traipuras, Kaiṣkindhyas, Haimakūṭas, Niṣhadhas, Kaṭakasthalas, Daśārṇas, the naked Hārikas, Niṣādas, Kākulālakas and the Parṇaśavaras.

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(d) The following countries and peoples are placed on the right flank of the tortoise :

Laṅkā, the Kālājinas, Śailikas, Nikaṭas, those who dwell on the Mahendra and Malaya mountains and the Durdura hill, those who dwell in the Karkoṭaka forest, Bhṛgukacchas, Koṅkanas, Sarvas, Ābhiras, those who dwell on the river Veṇvā, Avantis, Dāsupuras, the Ākaṇiṇ people, Mahā-rāṣṭras, Karṇāṭas, Gonarddhas, Citrakūṭakas, Colas, Kolagiras, the people who wear matted hair (Jaṭādharas) in Krauñcadīpa, the people who dwell on the Kāverī and on mount Ṛṣyamukha, those who are called Nāsikyas, those who wander by the broders of the Śaṅkha and Śukti and other hills and Vaidūrya mountains, Vāricaras, Kolas those who inhabit the Carmapaṭṭa, the Gaṇavāhyas, Paras, those who dwell in Kṛṣṇadvīpa, the peoples who dwell near the Sūrya hill and the Kumuda hill, Aukhāvanas, Piśikas, Karmanāyakas, southern Karūṣas, Ṛṣikas, Tāpasāśrama, Ṛṣabhas, Sīṁhalas, those who inhabit Kāñci, Tilaṅgas, those who inhabit Kuñjaradari and Kaccha and Tāmraparṇi.

(e) The countries and peoples located in the right-hand foot are the following :

The Kāmbojas, Pahlavas, Baḍavāmukhas, Sindhus, Sauvīras, Ānartas, Vanitāmukhas, Drāvaṇas, Sārgigas, Śūdras, Karṇaprādheyas, Varvaras, Kirātas, Pāradas, Pāṇḍyas, Pāraśavas Kalas, Dhūrtakas, Haimagirikas, Sindhu-Kālaka-Vairatas, Saurāṣṭras, Daradas, Drāviḍas and the Mahārṇavas.

(f) The countries and peoples situated on the tortoise's tail are the following :

The Aparāntikas, Haihayas, Sāntikas, Vipraśastakas, Kokaṅkanas, Pañcadakas, Vamanas, Avaras,

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Tārakśuras, Aṅgatakas, Śālmā-veśmakas, Gurusvaras, Phalguṇakas, the people who dwell by the river Veṇumatī, Phalgulukas, Ghoras, Guruhās, Kalas, Ekekṣaṇas, Vājikeśas Dīrghagrīvas, Cūlikas, Aśvakeśas.

(g) The countries and peoples situated in the left hind foot of the tortoise are the following :

The Māṇḍavyas, Caṇḍakhāras, Aśvakalantakas, Kunyatāladahas, Strīvāhyas, Sālikas, Nṛisiṁhas who dwell on the Veṇumaṭī, other people who dwell in Valāva, Dharma-baddhas, Alukas, and the people who occupy Urukarma.

(h) The following countries and peoples are placed on the tortoise's left flank :

Krauñcas, Kurus, Yakas, Kṣudravīṇas, Rasālayas, Kaikeyas, Bhogaprasthas, Yāmunas, Antardvīpas, Trigarttas, Agñijjas, Sārdana people, Aśvamukhas, Prāptas, long-haired Cividas Dāserakas, Vātadhānas, Śavadhānas, Puṣkalas, Adhamakairātas, those who are settled in Takṣaśilā, Ambālas, Mālavas, Madras, Veṇukas, Vadantikas, Piṅgalas, Māna-kalahas, Hūṇas, Kohalakas, Māṇḍavyas, Bhūti-yuvakas, Satakas, Hematārakas, Yaśomatyas, Gāndhāras, Khara-sāgararāśis, Yaudheyas, Dāsameyas, Rājaṅyas, Śyāmakas and Kṣemadhūrtas.

(i) The following countries and peoples are situated on the tortoise's north-east foot :

Yenas, Kiṁnaras, the countries of Praśupāla, Kīcaka, Kāśmīra, the people of Abhisāra, Davadas, Tvaṅganas, Kulaṭas, Vanarāṣṭrakas, Sairiṣṭhas, Brahmapūrakas, Vanā-vāhyakas, Kirātas, Kauśikas, Ānandas, Pahlavas, Lolanas, Dārvādas, Marakas, Kuruṭas, Anna-dārakas, Ekapādas, Khaśas, Ghoṣas, Svarga-bhaumānavadyakas, Hiṅgas, Yavanas, Cīraprāvaraṇas, Trinetras, Pauravas and the Gandharvas.

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KAPILAVASTU

CHAPTER VIII

Kapilavastu was the royal seat of the Śākyas. That royal city, four thousand li in circuit,[1] and sorrounded by seven walls,[2] was the cradle of one who was 'the lion among the Śākyas', but who afterwards became the one liberator of suffering humanity, the most perfect, the Enlightened, the Buddha. *Suddhodana* and his proud clan of the Śākyas are inseparably connected with *Kapilavastu*; they have come down to history along with other neighbouring sister clans as if in single phrases; the *S'ākyas of Kapilavastu*, the *Koliyas of Rāmagāma*, the *Bulis of Allakappa*, the *Bhaggas of Sumsumāragiri*, the *Kālāmas of Kesaputta*, the *Moriyas of Pipphalivana*, the *Mallas of Kusināra*, and the *Licchavis of Vesālī*.[3] These were the eight Kṣatriya clans or corporations who claimed shares of the bodily remains of the Buddha Gautama on the ground that like the deceased master they were all of the Ksatriya caste; but none of them except the *Licchavis of Vesālī* attained the eminence of the *S'ākyas of Kapilavastu*.

The territory of the Śākyas which lay to the north-east of the kingdom of *Kosala* was a principality built in the rugged fastness of the Lower Himalayas. This principality was under the suzerainty of the king of

1 Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, II., p. 1.

2 *Mahāvastu*, II., p. 75.

3 *Mahaparinibbāṇa Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya*; *D. N.*, II., p. 167.

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Kosala. *Kapilavastu*, its principal city, was connected by a High Road, called Southern Road (*Dakkhiṇāpatha*), with *Pāvā*, *Kusinārā*, *Vesālī*, and *Rājagaha*, on the one hand, and with *Setavyā*, *Savatthī*, *Sāketa*, and *Kosambī*, on the other.[1] The Nigrodhārāma is the most ancient known Buddhist retreat near Kapilavastu.[2]

There were other Śākya towns besides Kapilavastu, viz. *Cātumā*, *Sāmagāma*, *Ulumpā*, *Devadaha*, *Sakkara*, *Sīlāvatī* and *Khomadussa*, mention of which is made in Pali texts.[3] But none seems to have attained the eminence of *Kapilavastu*, which being the royal city was naturally the centre of social, political and educational life of the Śākyas.

According to the Lalitavistara,[4] *Kapilavastu* was a *mahānagara* or a great city with a good number of gardens, avenues and market-places. There were four city gates and towers all over the city. The city is stated to have been immensely rich, an abode of the powerful, a home of learning and a resort of the virtuous. It was full of charities, festivals and congregations of powerful princes. It enjoyed a good strength of horses, elephants and chariots.[5] With arched gateways and pinnacles, it was surrounded by the beauty of a lofty tableland.[6] In this city none but intelligent and qualified men were engaged as ministers.[7] As

1 *Ibid*, Verses 1011-1013 ; *Buddhist India*, p. 108.
2 *N. B. T.* p. 265.—*Uposadhāvadānam.*
3 *Camb. Hist. of Ind.*, I., p. 175.
4 Pp. 58, 77, 98, 101, 102, 113, 123.
5 *Sundarananda Kāvya ;* I.
6 *Buddhacarita*, I. vs. 2 and 5.
7 *Saundarananda Kāvya*, I.

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there was no improper taxation, the city was full of people and poverty could not find any place there where prosperity alone shone resplendently.[1]

Ulumpā or *Medalumpā* was the Śākya town situated opposite *Nangaraka*, a town of *Kosala* which abutted on the Śākya territory. Between *Devadaha*, which was the stronghold of the *Koliyas*, a branch of the Śākyas, and *Kapilavastu*, which was the chief town of the Śākyas, stood the garden of *Lumbinī* on the bank of the river *Rohinī*. As regards the remaining towns, mere mention of them in literature is not sufficient to ascertain their location.

In course of his tour of pilgrimage Fa-hien came to *S'rāvastī*, whence he passed through the places of *Kāśyapa Buddha*, *Krakucchanda Buddha* and *Kanakamuni Buddha*, and came to *Kapilavastu* on his way to *Rāmagāma*, the seat of the *Koliyas*. In *Kapilavastu* "there was neither king nor people. All was mound and desolation. Of inhabitants there were only some monks and a score or two of families of the common people. At the spot where stood the old palace of king Suddhodana, there have been made images of the prince (his eldest son) and his mother; and at the places where that son appeared mounted on a white elephant when he entered his mother's womb, and where he turned his carriage round on seeing the sick man after he had gone out of the city by the eastern gate, topes have been erected.[2] Fa-hien mentions also that ships have been built at other places in *Kapilavastu* connected with various incidents

1 *Buddhacarita*, I., v. 4.

2 Legge, *Travels of Fa-hien*, pp. 64-65.

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of the life of the Master so far as it concerned his native place. About the state of the country Fa-hien further states, "the country of Kapilavastu is a great scene of empty desolation. The inhabitants are few and far between. On the roads people have to be on their guard against white elephants and lions, and should not travel incautiously."[1]

Fa-hien places the *Lumbinivana* fifty li (9 or 10 miles) east of *Kapilavastu.*

The desolation of *Kapilavastu* is also attested to by Yuan Chwang who visited the place about three hundred years later. Fa-hien's account is short and inadequate, but Yuan Chwang's is much more detailed and gives a longer list of the establishments of the city.

From the neighbourhood of *S'rāvastī*, Yuan Chwang "continued his journey, and going south-west far above 500 li he came to the Kapilavastu country. This he describes as above 4000 li (about 800 miles) in circuit, and as containing more than ten deserted cities all in utter ruin. The royal city, was such a complete waste that its area could not be ascertained. But the solid brick foundations of the "palace city within" the Royal city still remained, and were above fifteen li in circuit. It was very sparsely inhabited. The country was without a sovereign, each city having its own chief; the soil was fertile and farming operations were regular; the climate was temperate, and the people were genial in their ways. There were remains of above 1000 Buddhist monasteries; and near the

1. *Ibid*, p. 68.

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palace city was an existing monastery with above 30 inmates, adherents of the Sammatiya School. There were two Deva-temples, and the sectarians lived pell-mell."[1]

Yuan Chwang next proceeds to describe the other establishments in and around the ruined city. The more important of them were :

1. "Old foundations" of king *Suddhodana's* principal mansion.

2. At the south gate of the city was a shrine to mark the place where the *P'usa* (the *Bodhisattva*) competed with other *S'ākyas* in athletics and threw an elephant over the city-moat.

3. Outside the capital, to the south of the city, at a distance of about 50 li, was an old city with a shrine to mark the birthplace of *Krakucchanda.*

4. Not far to the south of No. 3 was another shrine to mark the place of *Krakucchanda's* "perfect enlightenment."

5. Another shrine to the suoth-east of the old city marked the place of *Krakucchanda's nirvāṇa.*

6. In front of No. 5 was a stone pillar erected by Asoka above 30 ft. high with a carved lion on the top, and an account of *Krakucchanda's parinirvāṇa* on the sides.

7. Above 30 li north-east of the ruined city was another city with a shrine marking the birthplace of *Kanakamuni Buddha,* and another to the north of this with the bodily relics of *Kanakamuni.* Here too was a stone pillar erected by Asoka above twenty

1. Watters' *Yuan Chwang,* II., p. 1.

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feet high, with a lion on the top, and a record of the circumstances that attended Kanakamuni's decease, on the sides.

8. To the north-west of the capital were several hundred thousand shrines marking the places where the Śākyas were massacred by *Virudhaka* (*Vidūdabha*).

9. Three or four li south of *Kapilavastu*, in a wood of *Ni-ku-lu* trees (*nyagrodha trees*) was an Asoka tope at the place where Sakya gu-lai (i. e. the Buddha), having attained Buddhahood and returned to his native land, met his father and preached to him.

10. Not far from No. 9 was a tope on the spot where the Buddha accepted a gold-embroidered monk's robe from his aunt and foster-mother. Next to this was another shrine to mark the spot at which the Buddha admitted into the Brotherhood eight princes and 500 Śākyas.

11. Outside the east gate of the city was a temple of *Iśvaradeva* into which the infant prince *Siddhārtha* on the way from the place of his birth to the palace, was carried by the command of his father *Suddhodana*.

12. Outside the south gate of the city, and on the left side of the road, was a shrine to mark the spot where the Prince shot at iron drums, his arrow piercing the drums, going thirty-two li south-east, penetrating the ground and causing a clear spring to gush forth, the spring becoming known as the arrow spring.

13. 80 or 90 li from the arrow spring was the famous ta-fa-ni (*Lumbinī*) grove where the Buddha was born, with the beautiful bathing tank of the

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Śākyas. In this grove was a stone-pillar set up by Asoka with the figure of a horse on the top. Afterwards the pillar had been broken in the middle and laid on the ground by a thunderbolt from a malicious dragon.

No archæological object that can definitely be-dated in Buddha's time has yet been discovered in and around *Kapilavastu*. In fact, the earliest in date is not earlier than Asoka's time, and the most famous is the well-known *Rummindeī pillar-inscription* which definitely locates the *Lumbinī* garden. But this garden or grove was fifty li east of the city, according to Fa-hien, and 80 or 90 li north-east of the arrow spring which itself was 32 li to the south-east of the city, according to Yuan Chwang. This actually places the garden somewhere to the east of the city which is the direction as given by Fa-hien. Yuan Chwang also speaks of the stone-pillar set up by Asoka with the figure of a horse on the top ; it is not unlikely that he referred to what we now know as the *Rummindeī pillar*. Even before Yuan Chwang, the Asokan pillar was broken at the middle, perhaps struck by lightning, as the pilgrim's account suggests. The *Rummindeī pillar* was discovered by Dr. Fuhrer in December 1896 in exactly the same condition as Yuan Chwang speaks of. P. C. Mukherji in his *Antiquities in the Terai*[1] states that its upper portion is gone and of what remains the top is split into two halves, the line of fissure coming down to near the middle height. The capital was of the usual bell-shaped form, of which the base, broken into two halves, exists.....This was perhaps due to the lightning strike that Yuan Chwang

1 p. 34.

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alludes to. There is further evidence of the identification of the Lumbinivana with the place where the Rummindeī inscription was found. Yuan Chwang mentions that near the Asokan Pillar was "a small stream flowing south-east, and called by the people the Oil River."[1] The tradition survives even to-day, and this river is now called *Tilār-nade*, which is a corruption of *Telīr-nadī* or the teli's or oilman's river.[2] There is also a temple at *Rummindeī*, comparatively of a later date, which houses a sculptured slab representing the nativity of the Buddha,[3] which is a further proof of the identity of the place with *Lumbinivana*.

The *Rummindeī inscription* states that when king Asoka was anointed twenty years he came himself and worshipped this spot because the Buddha was born here. He erected a stone-pillar crowned with a horse (?) to mark the site of Buddha's birth. He made the village of Lumbini free of taxes and paying (only) an eighth share (of the produce).[4]

Another important epigraphic record, evidently connected with *Kapilavastu* is the *Nigali sāgar pillar inscription* of Asoka which purports to state that when the king had been anointed fourteen years, he enlarged the stūpa of *Kanakamana* to double its original size, and when he had been anointed twenty years, he came himself and worshipped this spot and caused a stone

1 Watters' *op. cit.* II., p. 15.
2 Mukherji, *Antiquities in the Terai*, Smith's Preface.
3 *Ibid*, Plate 24 (a).
4 *Op. cit. C. I. I.* III., pp. 264-65.

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pillar to be set up.[1] Yuan Chwang also speaks of a *stūpa* erected over the bodily relics of *Kanakamuni Buddha* also of a "stone-pillar above twenty feet high, with a lion on the top, and a record of the circumstances of this Buddha's decease on the sides : This pillar also had been set up by Asoka." It is almost certain that the stone pillar of Asoka referred to by the pilgrim is the same as the *Nigali sāgar pillar*, though the circumstances of *Kanakamana's* decease that are inscribed on it are different. This may have been due to the pilgrim's ignorance of the Asokan script. The identity of this site could have been fixed for certain, if the *Nigali Sāgar pillar* was found in situ. This, it has been argued, did not unfortunately happen to be the case, for Fuhrer discovered it (1895) in the *Nepalese Terai* on the western bank of a large tank called *Nigali Sāgar*, about a mile south of *Niglīvā* which lies thirteen miles north-west of *Rummindeī*. It has been urged that *Niglīvā* cannot be the original site of the *Nigali sāgar inscription* on the ground that the *Kanakamuni stūpa* referred to both in the inscription as well as by Yuan Chwang cannot be traced near the spot where the two portions of the pillar have been found.

The accounts of Fa-hïen and Yuan Chwang are not in agreement as to the location of *Kanakamuni stūpa* and pillar as well as of the *Krakucchanda* site. Yuan Chwang places the latter 50 li (about 10 miles) to the south of *Kapilavastu*, while Fa-hien seems to locate it

1. *C. I. I.*, III., op. cit. p. 165. Only two broken portions of the pillar are preserved. Cf. *Ibid*, p. xxiii.

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about the same distance to the south-west.[1] Yuan Chwang locates the *Kanakamuni* site to the south-east, while Fa-hien locates it directly to the west of *Kapilavastu*. There is thus, in the case of *Kanakamuni stūpa*, a very wide divergence of opinion between the two pilgrims which is difficult to reconcile. The *Nigali Sāgar pillar* which records the visit of Asoka to the *Kanakamuni* site is situated 13 miles north-west of *Rummindei* which itself is due east of *Kapilavastu*. This agrees neither with Fa-hien nor with Yuan Chwang. It is not therefore unlikely that the *Nigali Sāgar Pillar* had been removed from its original site when Fuhrer discovered it at Niglīvā.

The most definite starting point towards the identification of *Kapilaastu* is certainly the *Rummindei* Pillar inscription which locates the *Lumbinivana*, about 10 miles from *Kapilavastu*. Yuan Chwang's account helps us to locate another important site connected with *Kapilavastu*. All Buddhist sources, Pali and Sanskrit, agree in telling us that the *Nigrodhavana* was situated not very far from the city. Yuan Chwang locates the *Ni-ku-lu* monastery, doubtless identical with the *Nigrodhārāma*, 3 or 4 li, i.e. less than a mile, south of *Kapilavastu*.[2]

Had the *Nigali Sāgar Pillar* been in situ, we could have also located the *Kanakamuni* site with more or

1 Fa-hien gives the actual distance and direction of the place not from *Kapilavastu*, but from *S'rāvasti*, in relation to *Kapilavastu*. But the distance and direction in relation to *Kapilavastu* itself can be calculated on his data.

2. Legge, *op. cit.* p. 64.
Watters *op. cit.* II., p. 11.

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less certainty ; and depending on this it would have been equally possible to locate the *Krakucchanda* site. In any case, what Yuan Chwang records about these two sites seems, in the main, to have been based on facts, and we have no doubt that systematic excavations about ten miles to the south and six miles to the south-east of the city of *Kapilavastu* would help us to find the original sites connected with the birth and decease of *Krakucchanda* and *Kanakamuni* respectively.

To follow the Chinese travellers' trek in locating *Kapilavastu*, one must start from *S'rāvastī* which has been definitely identified with modern *Sāheth-Māheth* in the United Provinces. Fa-hien travelled 12 yojanas south-east from *S'rāvastī* to reach the *Krakucchanda* site, and farther less than a yojana north to reach the *Kanakamuni* site. From the latter place *Kapilavastu* lay, according to Fa-hien, less than a yojana to the east. From there, the *Lumbini* was fifty li to the east, and from the *Lumbinivana*, five yojanas to the east again lay the Koliya territory of *Rāmagāma*. According to Pali and Sanskit Buddhist texts, the river *Rohiṇī* flowed through the territories of the *S'ākyas* and the *Koliyas*, but Fa-hien's record does not make any mention of this river, nor does that of Yuan Chwang, though the latter speaks of a 'wild jungle intervening between the *Lumbinivana* and *Rāmagāma*. From the *Lumbini* garden, Yuan Chwang "travelled through a wild jungle east for more than 200 li (about 40 miles) to *Lan-mo* (*Rāma country*)."[1] The direction of *Rāmagāma* as recorded by both pilgrims is identical, though

1 Watters *op. cit.* II, p. 20.

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the distance shows a divergence, but the absence of any mention of the river *Rohiṇī* is perplexing.

About the distance and direction of *Kapilavastu* from *S'rāvastī*, Yuan Chwang states that he had to travel south-east from the latter place for above 500 li (about 10 miles)[1] before he came to the kingdom of *Kapilavastu*. Here too the direction as given by the two pilgrims agrees very well, but the distance is at variance.

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1 According to Fa-hien, 12 yojanas.

CHAPTER IX

BUDDHIST CAVE TEMPLES IN INDIA

The famous Buddhist cave temples in India are the following :—

(1) *Caves in the Barābar Hills,* (2) *Sattaparṇi-guhā at Rajgir,* (3) *Caves in the Nāgārjuni Hills,* (4) *Caves of Nasik,* (5) *Caves of Kaṅheri,* (6) *Caves of Kārli,* (7) *Caves of Bhāja,* (8) *Caves of Bāgh,* (9) *Caves of Elephantā,* (10) *Caves of Ellorā,* and (11) *Caves of Ajantā.*

The cave is called in Pali *guhā.* It is also called *leṇa.* Guhā has been distinguished in Pali literature as *mattikāguhā* (earthen cave) and *giri-guhā* (mountain cave). In the *Barābar Hill cave inscriptions of Asoka* and *Nāgārjuni Hill cave inscriptions of King Dasaratha,* the term *guhā* has been used to designate certain cave-dwellings of the Ājīvikas prepared by dressing up the mountain caves and rocky dens of animals, polishing their walls and decorating their entrances with arches just to make them appear like chapels. The term leṇa in its generic sense is a common designation for five kinds of monastic abodes namely, *Vihāra* (monastery), *aḍḍhayoga* (pinnacled house), *pāsāda* (palace), *hammiya* (mansion) and *guhā* (caves) and in its specific sense it denotes a peculiar kind of construction. It surely represents human art and architecture. As regards *guhā* it may be treated either as a natural formation or a partial creation of human hand and skill. *Guhā* is *leṇa* in the sense of a natural cave or cavity or cavern improved by human hand. *Guhā* means a *leṇa* and vice versa. From the

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Cullavagga of the Vinaya Piṭaka it is apparent that *leṇas* were dedicated to the ascetics and recluses with the object of providing them with an accommodation for their residence. They were also given suitable places for meditation, introspection, and means of protection against heat and cold, ferocious animals, reptiles, etc.

It should be borne in mind that the Buddhist Assembly Halls at *Nāsik, Bhāja, Kārli* and other places are in fact rock-cut caves of an apsidal form with a small dagoba *stūpa* at the end of the apsy in front of which there was the pillared hall for the assembly of worshippers. The Buddhist *Caitya* can well stand for an assembly hall, a vihāra, a stūpa, a sacred tree, a memorial stone, a holy relic or an object or a place or even an image. It is clear, therefore, that the *Caityas* also include caves.

Among the caves mentioned in ancient Indian literature, a reference is made to *Indasāla* cave which existed in the *Vediyaka Pabbata* which seems to be the same as the *Gijjhakūta Pabbata.* In the Barhut Inscription the name of this cave is given as *Indasāla guhā* identified with the *Giriyek* hill, 6 miles from Rajgir. Mention is also made of the *Sattapaṇṇi* cave of the *Vebhāra Pabbata* where the first Buddhist Council was held under the presidency of *Mahākassapa* and the patronage of King *Ajātaśatru of Magadha.* In the *Cittakuta Pabbata* there existed a cave known as *Suvarṇa guhā.*

CAVES IN THE BARABAR HILLS

There are some caves in the *Nāgārjuni* and *Barabar hills* in Bihar, dated about 257 B. C., about 16

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miles north of Gaya. These hills consist of two narrow parallel ridges, the rock being a close-grained granite. The caves also known as *Satghara* (seven houses) are divided into two groups, the four southernmost in the Barabar group being more ancient. The Nyagrodha cave is hewn in the granite ridge and faces south. There is an inscription recording the gift of the cave to the *Ājīvikas* by Asoka. The *Lomasriṣi* cave is similar to this cave but is unfinished. The side walls of the outer chamber are dressed and polished but the inside of the inner chamber is very rough. The entrance is finished and is no doubt the earliest example of the rock-cut caitya hall. The fourth cave of the Barabar group is the *Viśvajhopri*. It consists of chambers and is unfinished. There is an inscription on the wall of the outer chamber recording the gift of the cave by Asoka.

The most important of the Nagarjuni group is the Gopikā cave. It is more than 40 ft. long and 19 ft. wide, both ends being semi-circular. The vaulted roof has a rise of 4 ft. Immediately over the doorway there is a small panel containing an inscription recording the dedication of the cave to the Ājīvikas by Dasharatha on his succession to the throne. The remaining caves known as the *Vāhiyaka* and the *Vadathikā* are insignificant. Both contain inscriptions of *Dasharatha*.

CAVES OF KĀRLI

In the *Borghata* hills between Bombay and Poona, there were two well known Buddhist cave temples at *Kārli* and *Bhāja*. They are all dated about the beginning of the Christian era. The caves at *Kārli* are

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situated about 2 miles to the north of the Bombay-Poona Road. The nearest Railway Station is Malavli, 3 miles to the south on the G. I. P. Ry. In the inscriptions on the caves the names of *Nahāpana and Usabhadāta* occur. In the two inscriptions, mention is made of the great King *Dhutapāla* supposed to be *Devabhuti* of the Sunga dynasty. The pillars of this cave are quite perpendicular. The original screen is superseded by a stone one ornamented with sculpture. At the entrance of the cave stands a pillar surmounted by 4 lions witn gaping mouths and facing four quarters. Interpreted by an ancient Buddhist text, the four lions represent the lion's roar with which the disciples of the Buddha were called upon to proclaim that all the four best types of saints were to be found in Buddhism. On the right-hand side stands the Siva temple and close to it there is a second pillar surmounted by a chakra or wheel. The outer porch is wider than the body of the building. There are many miniature temple fronts crowned with a chaitya window. The pairs of large figures on each side of the doors appear like those at *Kaṅheri*. Buddha is here attended by *Padmapāni* and most probably *Manjuśri* is seated on the *sīhāsana* with his feet on the lotus. The entrance consists of three doorways under a gallery. There are 15 pillars and their bases consist of waterpot of *Lakṣmī*, the shaft is octagonal representing the saṁgha or brotherhood. Lord Curzon tried his best to effect some improvement to these cave temples. From architectural standpoint all these caves are of high order. The pillars are all systematical and the jali work (net-work) is almost perfect.

The Caitya in caves I and II is a three-storied vihāra. The top storey has a verandah with four

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pillars with slightly ornamented capitals. On the left side in the top storey is a raised platform in front of five cells with slots for a beam along the front. The doors are well-fitted. The cave No. III is situated to the north of cave No. IV. It is a two-storied vihāra. The cave No. IV is situated to the south of the caitya and from an inscription it appears that it was given by *Haraphāna* in the reign of the Andhra king, *Gautamīputra Pulumāyī*. It is a plain *vihāra*.

CAVES OF BHĀJA

Bhāja is situated about a mile from Malavli station on the G. I. P. Ry. and is about 2½ miles south of the Bombay-Poona Road. The cave temples situated there can be approached by an easy pathway. The cave No. I is a natural cavern. The next caves are plain viharas. No. VI is a vihara very much dilapidated. There is an irregular hall with 3 cells. There is a caitya which is one of the finest specimen of cave architecture. These caves are earlier than 2000 B.C. There are vaults and above them there are ornamented cornices. The cave is nearly 27 ft. wide and 60 ft. long and the dagoba is 11 ft. in diameter and 10 ft. high. Buddhist emblems are distinctly traceable in four of the pillars. The roof is arched as usual. There are ornamental arches in front and a double railing. The jail-work is found in places but not very neat. There are many small viharas near about.

CAVES OF NASIK

The Buddhist caves of Nasik are very well known. They are also known as *Paṇḍuleṇas*. They are situated about 300 ft. above the road level and can be easily

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approached by a pathway. They are excavated by the Hīnayana sect of the Buddhists called the *Bhadrajānikas*. There are altogether 23 excavations and many of them are unimportant. The earliest is the *Caitya* cave dating from the Christian era. Besides, there are 4 *vihāras*. Considerable damage has been done by weather. Cave No. I is an unfinished vihāra. Cave No. II is an excavation with many additions by later Mahayana Buddhists. There is a verandah having two wooden pillars. Cave No. III is a big vihara having a hall of 41 ft. wide and 46 ft. deep, with 18 cells besides two openings. The entrance is sculptured in a style similar to that of Sāñchi gate. Over the gateway the Bodhi tree, the dagoba, the cakra and dvārapālas are distinctly visible. The cave was excavated by one of the Andhra kings, *Sātakarṇi Gautamīputra*. The verandah has six octagonal columns without bases. The upper part of the frieze is richly carved with a strong course under a richly carved rail, similar to those at *Amarāvatī*. Cave No. X is a vihāra and contains an inscription of the family of *Nahapāna*, who reigned at *Ujjainī* before 120 A.D. The pillars of the verandah contain bell-shaped Persian capitals. The hall is about 43 ft. wide by 45 ft. deep, having three plain doors and two windows. Besides, there are some small excavations containing images of a later date. The cave No. XVII has a hall which measures 23 ft. wide by 32 ft. deep. The verandah is somewhat peculiar. It is reached by half a dozen steps in front between the two central octagonal pillars. On the back wall is a standing figure of Buddha $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high. On the right side are 4 cells without benches. There is an inscription which tells us that the cave was the work of *Indrāgñidatta*, son of *Dhārmadeva*,

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a *Yavana*, a native of the *Sauvīra* country. The cave No. XVII is of a much later date. The interior is very simple. The ornamentation on the left side of a doorway is almost similar to the northern gateway at Sanchi. The gallery is supported by two pillars. Cave No. XIX is a *vihāra* cave dated about the 2nd century. On either side of the shrine door stands a gigantic *dvārapāla* with a female attendant. In the shrine too there is a colossal image of Buddha seated on a lotus. Besides there are some dilapidated and half-finished chambers. Cave No. XXIII contains the sculpture of Buddha attended by *Padmapāṇi* and *Vajrapāṇi*. The pillars in front of the entrance of the first shrine are of a much later date. Besides, there are images of Buddha both in the *Dharmacakramudrā* and *Dhyānamudrā*.

THE CAVES OF KANHERI

About 20 miles north of Bombay is situated a big group of caves known as Kanheri which was for a considerable number of years occupied by the monks of the Buddhist Faith. These caves are situated near Thāna. As these caves cannot be easily reached on account of the roads being unmetalled and impassable, they have been very much neglected by the public. These caves have been excavated in a large bubble of a hill situated in the midst of a dense forest. The majority of these caves consist of a small single room usually with a small verandah in front. Surely the architecture is of a later style and may be dated as late as the 8th or 9th century A. D. To the north of these caves is a large excavation containing 3 dagobas and some sculptures. According to Fergus-

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son this cave temple is 86 ft. long and 39 ft. wide. It contains 34 pillars round the cave and a plain dagoba. There are two colossal figures of the Buddha, 22 ft. high which are of much later date. There are two standing figures of the *Bodhisatta-Avalokiteśvara* belonging to a later period. There are many dwarf cells built one over the other. Cave No. X is the Darbar hall which contains a slight carving in the interior. It is situated in the south side of the ravine. The carvings are no doubt of the later Mahayanist style. On the south side of the ravine, are several ranges of cells excavated in the slope of the hill. There are some stone seats outside the caves on which the monks used to take rest. Besides, there is a dagoba with the umbrella carved on the roof. As to the date of these caves it is difficult to say definitely but it must be admitted that there has been much degradation of style between these caves and those at Kārli. Some of these sculptures are surely of a much later date. Almost all the caves are supplied with one or more water cisterns yielding throughout the year a good supply of pure water. There are many *stūpas* built in brick and stone.

CAVES OF ELEPHANTA

In the harbour of Bombay about six miles north-east of the Apollo Bunder is the well-known island of Elephanta or *Gharapuri*. Elephanta was the name given by the Portuguese owing to the fact that they found a large stone elephant standing at the entrance to the great cave. All these caves are influenced both by Brahmanism and Buddhism. The three caves are in ruins. A cave contains a Buddhist caitya. Tri-

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murti or Brahmanical Trinity has been curved in the black wall of the main hall.

CAVES OF BĀGH

In the south of Malwa about 25 miles south-west of Dhar is the village of Bāgh. To the south of this village is situated a vihāra now much in ruins. The caves are nine in number. It is inconvenient to visit these caves as there is no railway station close to them. Thanks to the labours of the Archæological Department of the Gwalior State which has discovered the caves, repaired and renovated them. No inscription is found in these caves. The sculptures in the Bāgh caves known through drawings prepared for Dr. Burgess have now been photographed by Major Luard. The best images representing the Buddha or a Bodhisatta with two attendants are found in the south-western group in cave No. 2. The pose is easy and the modelling good. The paintings at Bāgh may be dated the 6th century or 1st half of the 7th century A. D. The dagoba which is found in a few of these caves contains no image of Buddha. But there are images of Buddha, here and there in these caves from which it may be assumed that they are later than the Hīnayāna sect. The architecture is not of the same type as that of Nasik caves. A great service has been done by the India Society by publishing an excellent book giving full details and plans of the caves at Bāgh with valuable illustrations and interesting descriptions. The cave No. 2 known as *Pañcaboṅkigumphā* is well preserved. It is a square *vihāra* with cells on three sides and a stūpa inside a shrine at the back. The ante-chamber has two twelve-sided pillars in front and the walls of this room are adorned with

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sculptures. There is a standing image of the Buddha with two attendants. The cave No. 3 also known as *Hāthikhānā* is a vihara. The front portion is dilapidated. The cave originally consisted probably of two distinct halls without connecting cells. The cave No. 4 known as *Rangmahal* is the finest specimen of architecture. There is a portico more than 220 ft. long supported by 22 pillars. The shrine at the back containing the dagoba is unadorned with sculptures. The cave No. 5 is a rectangular excavation, the roofs being supported by two rows of columns. Each row stands on a common plinth. The roof of the cave No. 6 is dilapidated. The cave No. 7 seems to be similar to the cave No. 2 and is dilapidated.

THE CAVES AT ELLORA

These caves are some of the most important Buddhist caves of India situated at Ellora in the north-west of the Nizam's territory about 16 miles from Aurangabad. '*Bhikkhugṛhas*' known as '*Dumaleṇas*' are the first excavations made at the site. Besides the caves of Buddhist origin, there are Brahmin and Jain caves. The Buddhist caves contain distinct signs of later Mahayana sect. The cave No. 2 contains galleries full of images of the Buddha seated on a lotus in a preaching attitude. In the north-east corner, there is a figure of the Buddha, very rough and almost unfinished. There is also a colossal Buddha seated on a sihāsana. In these caves the Buddha is seen in the attitude of preaching or in the '*Dharmacakra mudrā*'. The walls are covered profusely with images of Buddha and other Buddha sages. The cave No. 3 is a vihāra cave containing

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12 cells for monks. The walls have also many carvings of Buddhist sages. The cave No. 4 is in ruins. At the left or north end of this cave there is a prominent figure of *Padmapāṇi* attended by two females. The cave No. 5 is a very large *vihāra*. There are many pillars supporting the roof of the *vihāra*. The cave No. 6 contains an ante-chamber in front of the shrine filled with sculpture. The other caves are mostly Brahmanical and Jain but in cave No. 9 we find the image of the Buddha with various attendants. In cave No. 10 which is a beautiful caitya cave there is a large open court in front. The carvings are very beautiful. The facade is highly ornamental and consists of a verandah surmounted by a gallery leading to the inner gallery within the chapel. The window has been broken up by pillars. The arched roof is carved in imitation of woodwork. The inner side of the gallery is divided into 3 compartments full of figures. A gigantic figure of the Buddha is carved in front of the dagoda. The cave No. 11 is two-storied. Caves Nos. 11 and 13 are very similar in outer appearance. They consist of an open court entered through a comparatively narrow passage. They contain cells in the walls and show signs of the Mahayana sect.

THE CAVES OF AJANTA

The two caves of Ajanta are situated 60 miles north-west of Aurangabad and about 35 miles south of Bhusaval on the G. I. P. Ry. The caves at Ajanta are approached from Phardapur, a small town at the foot of the ghat. There is a good motorable road from Aurangabad to Phardapur and there is a

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traveller's bungalow which is open to all. The 29 caves at Ajanta have been cut, carved and painted at different times. According to V. A. Smith, the bulk of the paintings at Ajanta must be assigned to 6th century A. D., *i.e.* the time of the great Chalukya kings. The resulting political conditions must have been unfavourable to the execution of costly work of art dedicated to the service of Buddhism, the Pallava kings having been as a rule ardent worshippers of Siva as we know this from a Vakataka inscription existing in cave No. 16. Caves Nos. 9 and 10 which are the earliest, date back to the 1st and 2nd century B.C. *Caitya* and *vihāra* caves are the two types of caves found at Ajanta. The huge images of the Buddha found in the inner cells of the vihāras are almost in the preaching attitude. The frescoes and paintings at Ajanta are the most important features of Buddhist architecture. Decorative painting and ceiling decorations are the wonderful specimens of ancient Indian fine arts. Jātaka scenes, e. g. *Sutasoma*, *Sarabha*, *Matsa*, conversion of Nanda, visit of Asita to the Buddha, temptation of Buddha by Māra, etc. are well depicted in these caves. In the cave No. 26 the most notable sculpture on the walls is the large and crowded composition representing the temptation of the Buddha by Māra. A careful examination of this sculpture shows an assembly of males and females with swords, clubs, etc. trying to create fear in the mind of the Bodhisatta who is destined to attain salvation. This is also found in 'Borobudor' sculpture in Java. We agree with Dr. Burgess that most of the faces are beautifully cut, and the elephants are well drawn. The wheel of life or '*Saṁsāracakra*' flying '*gandharvas*' and '*apsarās*' can be found in

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them. All these caves present a vivid picture of the feelings and aspirations of the Buddhists during the period to which they belonged. Figures of birds, monkeys, Bheels, wild tribes etc. are all depicted in these caves. Rivers, seas, rocky shores, fishes, saṁkhas, etc. are all found in them, and they have a very high artistic value. The majestic figure of the Buddha on the wall on the left of the corridor at the back has attracted universal appreciation. Palaces and buildings are represented by a flat roof over the heads of the figures supported by slender pillars. The dresses are very pretty and variegated. Men of higher rank wear little clothing above the waist but much jewellery, armlets, necklaces, fillets, etc. and men of lower rank are more covered but have no jewellery. Monks are clothed in their usual dress. Ladies of distinction wear much jewellery. In cave No. 10 the paintings between the ribs of the aisles are of much later date. Near the front on the left wall is a painted inscription in much older characters. The cave No. 16 is one of the viharas of great importance to the student of architecture. In the cave No. 20 the flight of steps with a carved ballustrade leading towards a verandah and the pillars with capitals of elegantly sculptured strut figures of girls, the threshold of the shrines recalling the ancient *'toraṇa'* (vault) are the materials helpful to understand the evolution of domestic and socio-religious architecture in India. The portico in front of the shrine is akin to a *maṇḍapa* or a pavilion. The group of worshippers in cave No. 1 is really very artistic and is a manifestation of an unfettered art. Soldiers are armed with halberds, pears, bows and arrows. A sort of high turban with a knob in front is worn by the

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males. A broad heavy neck-chain is prominent. All these remind us most vividly of the style of the early sculptures of Sanchi and of the oldest discovered sculpure at Muttra.

Even this brief account of the principal Buddhist caves and cave-temples in India cannot fail to impress the reader with the importance of these rock-cut dwellings and caitya halls in the history of Buddhism, and its art and architecture. The phenomenal progress of Buddhism left its imprint on all aspects of Indian life and civilisation, especially architecture, sculpture and painting. The caves which once afforded dens for wild animals were found to be lonely dwellings for the recluses. Hidden far away from human localities, they served as halls for the congregation of those of the Buddhist holy order representing different sects and schools, as sanctuaries for the installation of richly carved figures of the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas, and as picture galleries exciting wonder to all visitors. Though the caves are no longer tenanted by those for whom they were built and donated, they still stand with full reminiscences of the glorious past of India.

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CHAPTER X

SACRED PLACES OF THE JAINS

Like the Buddhists, the Jains have many holy places in India, the most important of which are noticed in this paper. *Vaiśālī* claims Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism, as its own citizen. The *Sūtra-kṛtāṅga*[1] and the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*,[2] the two important Jain canonical works, mention Mahāvīra who possessed the highest knowledge of the highest faith as the famous native of *Vaiśālī*. *Kuṇḍagrāma*, a suburb of *Vaiśālī*, was the birth-place of Mahāvīra. [3] During his later ascetic life, Mahāvīra did not neglect the city of his birth and according to the *Kalpa-sūtra*[4] he spent in this city no less than 12 rainy seasons. As Mahāvīra was born here he was also known as *Vesālie* or *Vaiśālika*, i. e., an inhabitant of *Vaiśālī*.[5] This city was hallowed by the dust of Buddha's feet early in his career and many of his immortal discourses were delivered here either at the Mango-grove of *Ambapālī* or at *Kūṭāgārasālā* in *Mahāvana*. After the Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha, *Vaiśālī* drew to itself the care and attention of the whole Buddhist Church. It was a very ancient city as references to it are found in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[6] and in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*.[7] This city was visited by the Chinese traveller, Yuan Chwang

1. 1. 2. 3. 22.
2 Lec. VII, 17.
3 *Jaina Sūtras*, S. B. E., Vol. XXII, pp. x-xi.
4 § 122.
5 *Jaina Sūtra*, 1, Intro., xi.
6 Ch. 45, verses 9, 10 and 11 ; Ch. 47, verse 18.
7 *Wilson's Ed.*, Vol. III, 246.

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who describes it thus : "The Vaiśālī country is above five thousand li in circuit, a very fertile region abounding in mangoes, plantains and other fruits. The people are honest, fond of good works, esteemers of learning and orthodox and heterodox in faith." It was the capital of the Licchavis, one of the most powerful republican clans of the 6th century B. C.

The Buddhist books abound in references to this city.[1] *Vaiśālī* was a very rich and prosperous town. The *Mahāvagga* of the *Vinaya Pitaka* describes it thus : "It was an opulent, prosperous and populous city abundant with food, there were many buildings, pinnacled buildings, pleasure-gardens and lotus ponds".[2] This town has been identified by General Cunningham with Basarh in the Muzaffarpur district in Tirhut.[3]

Pāvā—It was at *Pāvā* that Mahāvīra breathed his last. The *Mallas* used to reside here, who were devotedly attached to Mahāvīra and Buddha. According to the *Kalpasūtra*, the nine *Mallakis* or *Malla* chiefs, to mark the passing away of the Great Jina, were among those that instituted an illumination on the day of the New Moon saying "Since the light of intelligence is gone, let us make an illumination of material matter."[4] It was also at this Mallian city of Pāvā that the Buddha ate his last meal at the house of *Cunda*, the smith, and was attacked

1. Vide my '*Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India*', Chs. I. & II.
2. *Vinaya Texts*, Pt. II, 171.
3. *Archæological Survey Report*, Vol. I, pp. 55, 56.
4. Dhanpat Singh's Ed., p. 77.

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with dysentery. Some hold that Pāvā, Pāpā or Pāvāpurī is the same as Kasia situated on the little Gandak river to the east of the District of Gorakhpur. It seems that this city was situated near Rājgīr in Behar. It is considered as one of the sacred places of the Jains. Mahāvīra left his mortal existence when he was dwelling in the palace of king *Saṣtipāla* of *Pāvā*. Four beautiful Jain temples were built at the spot where Mahāvīra left his mortal existence. The ancient name of this city was *Pāpā* or *Appāpurī*. The *Pāvāpurī* temple was built during the victorious reign of the glorious Emperor Shahjahan, in the year 1698 of the Samvat era, and for further details vide *Tīrthapāvāpurī* by Puran Chand Nahar, 1925.

Rājgīr—Rājagṛha (ancient *Girivraja*) was the ancient capital of Magadha. It was so called because it was built by a king and every house in it resembled a palace. It was also called *Kuśāgrapura* or the city of the superior reed-grass. As it was surrounded by five hills,[1] it acquired the name of *Girivraja*, which name occurs in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* as the capital of king *Jarāsandha* of Magadha. According to the *Sāsanavamsa*, this city was built by king *Mandhāta*.[2] It had 32 gates and 64 posterns.[3] On the west it could be approached through a narrow pass and on the north there was a passage through the mountain. This town was extended from east to west and narrow from north to south.[4] It was a gay

1. *Vepulla pabbata* or the *Vankaka pabbata* was one of the hills surrounding Rājagaha.
2. P. 152 ; Cf. also the *Sutta Nipāta Commentary*.
3. Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 323.
4. Vide *Watters* on *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 148.

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town where festivities were held in which people indulged themselves in drinking wine, eating meat, singing and dancing.[1] A festival known as the *Nakkhattakīlā* or the sport of the stars used to be held here which lasted for a week in which the rich took part.[2] It was an abode of many wealthy bankers.[3] Meetings were held in the *Santhāgāra* at *Rājagaha* where the people met and discussed the means of welfare.[4] The people of this town were always ready to satisfy the needs of the bhikkhus under the belief that such pious acts were attended with blessings of rebirth in a higher region.[5] This city was visited by such eminent disciples of the Buddha as *Sāriputta* and *Moggallāna*. It was here that Upāli was ordained as a bhikkhu. The Buddha's activity in this city was remarkable.[6] Mahāvīra spent 14 rainy seasons at *Rājagaha*.[7]

Modern Rājgir (ancient *Rājagṛha*) is a holy place of the Jains and very close to it are the ruins of *Nālandā vihāra*. It is a very healthy place with a bracing climate.

Raivataka—Close to Junāgaḍh in Gujarat stands

1. *Jātaka*, I, p. 489.
2. *Vimānavatthu Commentary*, pp. 62-74.
3. *Petavatthu Commentary*, pp. 1-9.
4. Cf. *Jātaka*, IV, pp. 72 foll.
5. *Vimānavatthu Commentary*, pp. 250-251.
6. Vide *Vinaya Piṭaka*, IV, p. 267; II, p. 146; *Digha Nikāya*, II, pp. 76-81; Ibid, III, pp. 36 foll. *Samyutta Nikāya*, I, p. 8 foll.; Ibid pp. 27-28, 52, 160-161; 161-163; 163-164; *Anguttara Nikāya*, II, pp. 181-182; III, 366 foll., 374 foll., 383 foll.; *Therīgāthā*, pp. 16, 27, 41, 142; *Jātaka*, I, pp. 65-66, 156.
7. *Jaina Sutras*, I, p. 264.

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the Girnar or *Raivataka* hill which is considered to be the birth-place of Neminãth. It contains the temples of *Neminãth* and *Pārśvanãth*. The river *Suvarṇarekhā* is flowing at the foot of the hill. *Neminãth* was the religious preceptor of king *Dattātraya*. There is a foot-print on the Girnar hill known as *Gurudattacaraṇa*.

S'atruñjaya[1]—Of the five hills in Kathiawar it is the holiest according to the Jains. To the east of it is the city of *Palitānā*. *Bāgbhattadeva*, Dewan of king Kumārapāla of Gujarat, repaired the *S'atruñjaya* temple. *Caumukha* temple is the highest of all Jain temples situated on the top of the *S'atruñjaya* hills.

Somnãth in Junāgaḍh is a sacred place of the Jains. It is also known as *Candraprabhāsa*. Formerly there was a wooden temple here but later on the temple[2] was built in marble.

Mount Abu situated to the west of India belongs to the king of Sirohi in Rājputānā. It is one of the hills detached from the *Aravalli Range* and is as high as 5,650 feet. There are five Jain temples[3] and two of them are the most beautiful of all Jain temples in India. They are built in marble and are fine specimens of decorative art. There is a lake on *Mount Abu*. At one time there was a hermitage of sage *Vaśiṣtha* on this mountain.

Candragiri known to the ancients as *Jayadurgā* is

1. Also known as *Siddhācala*.
2. It was repaired by king *Kumārapāla* of Gujarat.
3. The image of God *Ṛsabha* was installed in a temple by *Vimala Sāh*, who saw many temples of God *S'iva* with eleven thousand worshippers on *Mount Abu*.

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situated in the district of Ceḷa. It is very sacred to the Jains.

Pārśvanāth hills—Pārśvanāth or *Pareśnāth* in the district of *Hazaribagh* is very frequently visited by the Jains. The height of this hill is about 5,000 feet. There is a Digambara Jain temple on the top of this hill and some *S'vetāmbara* temples are found at its foot. It is a very unhealthy place and according to the Jains, *Pārśvanāth* before his passing away came to the foot of the hill and attained mokṣa. *Pārśvanāth* hill also known as *Sametaśikhara*, stands in a dense forest infested with wild animals.

Khaṇḍagiri.—Close to *Bhuvaneśvara* in the District of Puri, there are *Khaṇḍagiri caves* where there are some Jain temples much frequented by the Jain pilgrims. The Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri hills which are the most important sacred places of the Jains are situated at a distance of about five miles to the north-west of Bhuvanesvara in the Puri district. The two hills are honey-combed with caves tenanted by the Jain monks. These caves are situated in forests infested with wild animals. At the foot of the hills, the Jains have built a Dharmashala for the convenience of the pilgrims.

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CHAPTER XI

SACRED PLACES OF THE VAIṢṆAVAS

The Vaiṣṇavas have many holy places in India. In the north, *Mathurā, Vṛndāvana, Gokula, Haridvāra* and *Badarināṭha,* in the west, *Dvārakā* and in the south, *Puri, Kāñcipura,* etc. are considered sacred by the Vaiṣṇavas. In Bengal, *Navadvīpa, Sāntipura, Kālṇā, Kātwā, Khaddaha* and *Saptagrāma* are the places sacred to the Vaiṣṇavas.

In the city of *Mathurā,* Śrīkṛṣṇa was born in the prison-cell where he was locked up by Kaṃsa. From *Nandigrāma,* he went to *Vṛndāvana* and killed Vatsa and Vakāsura there. According to the *Gopāla-campū,* he returned to Vṛndāvana after killing Dantavakra. For eleven years his activities were confined to Vṛndāvana up to the Dola-līlā ceremony and then he went to *Mathurā* with Akrūra. In the city of Mathurā he killed a washerman, granted the boon to the garlandmaker, Sudāma, gave the celestial beauty to a hunchback, broke the Indra-bow, killed the elephant of Kaṃsa and at last put an end to the life of Kaṃsa. He then took the sacred thread worthy of a Kṣatriya and learnt the art from the sage Sandipaṇi belonging to the city of Avantī. He was a bosom friend of the Pāṇḍāvas. He sent Akrūra to Hastināpura to enquire about the welfare of the Pāṇḍavas. Śrīkṛṣṇa had a fight with Jarāsandha with the result that Jarāsandha fled being defeated. After fighting with him again and again for 17 times Śrīkṛṣṇa built the fort and his own dwelling place in the city of Dvārakā in Gujrat.

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In this city of *Dvārakā*, Śrīkṛṣṇa married Rukminī and eight other women. After defeating Vānāsura, he married his own son, Aniruddha to Ūṣā, the daughter of Vānāsura. He gave immense wealth to a brahmin named Śrīdāma after accepting his offerings of rice. Śrīkṛṣṇa spent 125 years in this city. He attended the *Rājasūya Yajña* performed by Yudhiṣṭhira and there he killed Śiśupāla.

He gave shelter to many of his friends and relatives in the city of Dvārakā, who fled there being very much afraid of Kaṃsa. Before he built this city, he had a fight with the Yavana with the result that the Yavana was killed and the king Mucukunda was saved. The city of Mathurā is a very ancient city, the mention of which is found in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata*, *Purāṇa* and *the Buddhist and Jain texts*.[1] It is considered as the birth-place of Vaiṣṇavism. During the reign of the Kuṣāṇa kings, it was a well-known centre of Jainism. For many years Buddhism was prevalent in this city which was hallowed by the dust of Buddha's feet. According to the Viṣṇupurāṇa, it was built by Śatrughna. It is situated on the banks of the Yamunā, and amongst its *ghāts* or bathing places, Viśrāmaghāṭ is considered as the most sacred. The Hindus remove their sins by taking their baths at the place. Mathurā is also known as Adhurā. According to the Greek writers, it is also known as Methora. It was under the control of the Mauryas when the celebrated Greek traveller, Megasthenes visited it. The present city of *Mathurā* is divided

1. Vide B. C. Law, Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes, Vol. I. Chap. IV.

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into two parts, the city proper and the cantonment. It is a very populous city and it contains the big market known as the '*Cak*' and many Hindu temples, such as Kedāreśvara mandir, Kubjāmandir, Kālabhairava mandir, etc. The temple of Kedāreśvara is the highest and the best among the temples in this city.

About 5 miles to the north of this city stands the celebrated holy place of the Hindus known as *Vṛndāvana* on the banks of the river Yamunā. It also contains many Hindu temples. The temple of Madanagopāladeva is the most ancient and its present name is Madanamohana. The temples of Govindaji are also well known. They all contain big courtyards. The temple of Gopināthji was built by a wealthy Rajput named Śrī Rāī Śīlajī and this is considered as the old temple of Gopināth. Besides there are other temples recently built by Lālā Babu and Śeṭh Luchminarain. There are many *ghāṭs* or bathing places here, e.g., *Keśīghāṭ, Rājghāṭ, Varāhaghāṭ, Ādityaghāṭ, Yugalaghāṭ, S'ṛṅgāravaṭaghāṭ, etc.* Close to these *ghāṭs*, there are some groves and *Kuṇḍas* or ponds which are considered sacred by the Hindus, e.g., *Nikuñjavana, Nidhuvana, Madhuvana, Tālavana, Kumudavana, Rādhākuṇḍa, S'yāmakuṇḍa, Lalitākuṇḍa, etc.*

Rādhākuṇḍa is also known as Ariṭ because Śrīkṛṣṇa in the guise of an ox killed the asura named Ariṣṭa. As Śrī Rādhā, the wife of Kṛṣṇa, refused to touch his body because he killed a cow, he had a pond dug for his bath and for extirpating his sins. This pond was known as *S'yāmakuṇḍa.* Śrī Rādhā also had a pond

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dug by the side of the *S'yāmakuṇḍa* and it is known as the *Rādhākuṇḍa*.

' On the left bank of the Yamunā stands the village of *Gokula*, so very famous in the history of Vaiṣṇavism. This village contains the temple of *Gokulanāthajī*. Vasudeva being afraid of Kaṃsa crossed the river Yamunā and left Śrīkṛṣṇa in charge of Nanda who used to live in this village. After leaving his former habitat, being very much troubled by the asuras, Putanā and Tṛṇāvarttaka, he came to live in the village known as Nandigrāma. It seems that this village is very ancient. Brickbuilt houses are in ruins. One has to go through these dilapidated houses to see the temple of Gokulnātha. There is a motorable road from Mathurā to Gokula, a distance of 27 miles. It is very much frequented by pilgrims from all parts of India.

Ayodhyā is also a sacred place of the Vaiṣṇavas. It is situated on the banks of the Sarajū river. It is about 6 miles from Fyzabad Ry. Station. There is a fine motorable road from Fyzabad to Ayodhyā. It was the capital of Rāmcandra. It contains the temples of Rāma, Sītā, Hanumāna, etc.

The *Govardhanagiri* is situated at a distance of 8 miles from Mathurā. It contains the temples of Harideva and Cakreśvaramahādeva. It also contains the image of Śrīnāthajī formerly known as Gopāla. About 6 miles to the south of Mathurā stands the Mahāvana which is so very sacred to the Vaiṣṇavas.

Haridvāra or *Haradvāra* in northern India is looked upon by the Vaiṣṇavas as their holy place. According to the Mahābhārata, this city is known as

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Gaṅgādvāra, and in the Vaiṣṇava literature, it is called Māyāpuri. On the banks of the Ganges, Vidura listened to the Śrīmadbhāgavata read out by the sage Maitreya. In this city the Ganges descends from the Himalayas. There is another holy city of the Vaiṣṇavas known as Hṛṣikeśa situated on the Ganges about 20 miles from Haridvāra. According to the Vaiṣṇavas, this place is considered as the abode of Nārāyaṇa. It müst be admitted that *Badarināārāyaṇa* is no other person than Nārāyaṇa, who has come to the earth as Kṛṣṇārjuna to bring the wicked princes under control and to establish peace in the world. The image of *Badarināārāyaṇa* is made up of stone. One will have to undergo a great hardship in reaching this place. Here the Ganges is always covered with snow and it is difficult to touch it. There is a beautiful temple of *ādha-Badarināārāyaṇa*. The scenery of this place is attractive. On the other side of the river, the even land is being cultivated and the trees are found here and there scattered all over the place.

According to some, *Benares* (*Bārāṇasī*) is a place in the United Provinces found sacred by the Vaiṣṇavas. In the literature of the Vaiṣṇavas, there is no difference between Śiva and Viṣṇu and as Benares contains the image of Vindumādhava, it is considered sacred by the Vaiṣṇavas.

In southern India, *Puri*, *Bhuvaneśvara*, *Sākṣīgopāla* and *Kāncipura* are the Vaiṣṇava *tīrthas*. In the city of Kāñcipura (Conjeeveram) there is the image of Nārāyaṇa. This city is also known as Satyavratakṣetra. Jagannātha of Puri, the idols at Bhuvaneśvara and Sākṣīgopāla are worshipped by the Vaiṣṇavas. According to them, they are nothing but the images

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of Nārāyaṇa. During the reign of the Keśarīs of Utkala (Orissa), *Bhuvaneśvara* was their capital and in the 12th century A. D., during the reign of the Gaṅgā kings, Vaiṣṇavism was paramount in Orissa.

Bengal has been very much influenced by Vaiṣṇavism. About 12 miles from Calcutta, there is a village known as Khaḍdaha which contains the image of Śyāmasundara brought there by Vīrabhadra, son of Nityānanda. Nityānanda Gosvāmī, the celebrated companion of Mahāprabhū, came here to practise asceticism. One day he heard a woman crying on the banks of the Ganges and saw a dead body lying there. On enquiry he came to know that it was the dead body of her only daughter. He married this daughter after giving back her life. He asked for a piece of land from a local landlord who jocosely threw a straw to the Ganges and called it his abode. On account of the influence of Nityānanda, the water of the Ganges was dried up and he built his abode there and began to live. Vīrabhadra Gosvāmī, the son of Nityānanda, was the founder of the Gosvāmī family of Khaḍdaha.

Navadvīpa is a sacred place of the Vaiṣṇavas. It is so called because it is a combination of nine islands. Śrīcaitanya, the son of a Vaidik brāhmin, left Navadvīpa at the age of 24 and lived the life of a hermit. Navadvīpa was the capital of the last Hindu king of Bengal. A Court of Justice was established there by Aśokasena, grandson of Lakṣaṇasena and great-grandson of Ballālasena. He was compelled to leave this place at the instance of Bakhtihar Khilji. At one time it was a centre of Sanskrit learning and the home of many learned men.

There is another sacred place of the Vaiṣṇavas,

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known as *Kātadvīpa* or Kātwā in the District of Burdwan. It is so sacred to the Vaiṣṇavas because here Śrīcaitanya at the age of 24 became a hermit and shaved the hair of his head. There is a village known as *Jhāmaṭpur*, 4 miles to the north of Kātwā which was the dwelling place of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, the celebrated author of *S'rīcaitanya Caritāmṛta*. *Kālnā* in the district of Burdwan is also considered sacred because this place contains the abode of *Sūryadāsa* and *Gaurīdāsa*. It also contains the hermitages of Jagannāthdāsa and Bhagavāndāsa. There are many temples at this place built by the members of the Burdwan Rāj family. Kālnā is also famous as *Ambikā-Kālnā*. At *Bamśavāṭī* in the district of Hooghly there is an ancient temple of *Hamseśvarī*. Close to Baṃśavāṭī there is the sacred abode of *Uddhāraṇadatta* very much frequented by the Vaiṣṇavas especially on the anniversary day of this religious reformer. In the district of Nadia stands *S'āntipura* on the Ganges which contains the temple of Madangopāla, Madanamohana, Kālācānd, Śyāmacānd, etc. Here the celebrated teacher Advaitācārya used to practise asceticism.

It is interesting to note that in almost all the sacred places of the Vaiṣṇavas, the influence of the Bengali Vaiṣṇavas is remarkably perceptible.

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ERRATA

Page	*Read*		*in place of*	
54, 56, 58, 60, 62. (head note)	„	South India as a centre of Pāli Buddhism	„	Sanskrit Buddhist Literature.
66, 68, 70, 72, 74. (head note)	„	Geographical data from the Mahāvamsa and its Commentary	„	Sanskrit Buddhist Literature.
76, 78, 80. (head note)	„	Damiḷa and Damiḷaraṭṭha	„	Sanskrit Buddhist Literature.
82, 84, 86, 88, 90, 92, 94, 96. (head note)	„	Mountains and Rivers of India	„	Sanskrit Buddhist Literature.
179	„	Chapter	„	Chaptfr
Ib	„	Chapter VII—Appendix.		
8	„	pervading	„	prevading
11	„	written	„	witten
36	„	identify	„	indentify
48	„	where	„	when
49	„	identification	„	indentification
66	„	descendants	„	descedants
81	„	repeated	„	rapeated
140	„	people	„	peole
145	„	refer to	„	refer
146	„	Kaserukas	„	Kaserurakas
178	„	presumably	„	presumbly
182	„	surrounded	„	sorrounded
198	„	Jāli-work	„	Jail-work

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